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OF

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FROM

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TO

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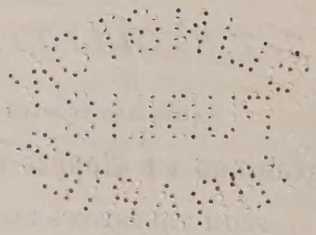

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Sea Company are confiscated.—Proceedings of the Commons with Respect to the Stock of the South-Sea Company.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN KING GEORGE AND THE CZAR OF MUSCOVY.

During these transactions, the negotiations of the North were continued against the King of Sweden, who had penetrated into Norway, and advanced towards Christianstadt, the capital of that kingdom. The czar had sent five-and-twenty thousand Russians to assist the allies in the reduction of Wismar, which he intended to bestow upon his niece, lately married to the Duke of Mecklenburgh-Schwerin; but, before his troops arrived, the place had surrendered, and the Russians were not admitted into the garrison; a circumstance which increased the misunderstanding between him and the King of Great Britain. Nevertheless, he consented to a project for making a descent upon Schonen, and actually took upon him the command of the allied fleet; though he was not at all pleased to see Sir John Norris in the Baltic, because he had formed designs against Denmark, which he knew the English squadron would protect. He suddenly desisted from the expedition against Schonen, on pretence that the season was too far advanced; and the King of Denmark published a manifesto, remonstrating against his conduct on this occasion. By this time Baron Gortz had planned a pacification between his master and the czar, who was discontented with all his German allies, because they opposed his having any footing in the empire. This monarch arrived at Amsterdam in December, whither he was followed by the czarina; and he actually resided at the Hague when King George passed through it, in returning to his British dominions; but he declined an interview with the King of England. When Gyllenburgh's letters were pub-

lished in London, some passages seemed to favour the supposition of the czar's being privy to the conspiracy. His minister at the English court presented a long memorial, complaining that the king had caused to be printed the malicious insinuations of his enemies. He denied his having the least concern in the design of the Swedish king. He charged the court of England with having privately treated of a separate peace with Charles, and even with having promised to assist him against the czar, on condition that he would relinquish his pretensions to Bremen and Verden. Nevertheless he expressed an inclination to re-establish the ancient good understanding, and to engage in vigorous measures for prosecuting the war against the common enemy. The memorial was answered by the King of Great Britain, who assured the czar he should have reason to be fully satisfied, if he would remove the only obstacle to their mutual good understanding; in other words, withdraw the Russian troops from the empire. Notwithstanding these professions, the two monarchs were never perfectly reconciled.

THE KING OF SWEDEN IS KILLED AT FREDERICKSTADT.

The czar made an excursion to the court of France, where he concluded a treaty of friendship with the regent, at whose earnest desire he promised to recall his troops from Mecklenburgh. At his return to Amsterdam, he had a private interview with Gortz, who, as well as Gyllenburgh, had been set at liberty. Gortz undertook to adjust all difference between the czar and the King of Sweden within three months; and Peter engaged to suspend all operations against Sweden until that term should be expired. A congress was opened at Abo, between the Swedish and Russian ministers; but the conferences were afterwards removed to Aland.

By this convention, the czar obliged himself to assist Charles in the conquest of Norway; and they promised to unite all their forces against the King of Great Britain, should he presume to interpose. Both were incensed against that prince; and one part of their design was to raise the pretender to the throne of England. Baron Gortz set out from Aland for Frederickstadt in Norway, with the plan of peace, but, before he arrived, Charles was killed by a cannon-ball from the town, as he visited the trenches, on the thirtieth of November. Baron Gortz was immediately arrested, and brought to the scaffold by the nobles of Sweden, whose hatred he had incurred by his insolence of behaviour. The death of Charles was fortunate for King George. Sweden was now obliged to submit: while the czar, the King of Denmark, and the Elector of Hanover, kept possession of what they had acquired in the course of the war.

NEGOTIATION FOR A QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE.

Thus Bremen and Verden were secured to the House of Hanover: an acquisition towards which the English nation contributed by her money, as well as by her arms: an acquisition made in contradiction to the engagements into which England entered when King William became guarantee for the treaty of Travendahl: an acquisition that may be considered as the first link of a political chain by which the English nation was dragged back into expensive connexions with the Continent. The king had not yet received the investiture of the duchies; and until that should be procured, it was necessary to espouse with warmth the interest of the emperor. This was another source of misunderstanding between Great Britain and Spain. Prince Eugene gained another complete victory over a prodigious army of the Turks at Belgrade, which was surrendered to

him after the battle. The emperor had engaged in this war as an ally of the Venetians, whom the Turks had attacked, and driven from the Morea. The pope considered it as a religious war against the infidels; and obtained repeated assurances from the King of Spain, that he would not undertake any thing against the emperor, while he was engaged in such a laudable quarrel. Philip had even sent a squadron of ships and galleys to the assistance of the Venetians. In the course of this year, however, he equipped a strong armament, the command of which he bestowed on the Marquis de Lede, who sailed from Barcelona in July, and landing at Cagliari in Sardinia, which belonged to the emperor, made a conquest of the whole island. At the same time, the King of Spain endeavoured to justify these proceedings by a manifesto, in which he alleged that the archduke, contrary to the faith of treaties, encouraged and supported the rebellion of his subjects in Catalonia, by frequent succours from Naples, and other places; and that the Great-Inquisitor of Spain had been seized, though furnished with a passport from his holiness. He promised, however, to proceed no further, and suspend all operations, that the powers of Europe might have time and opportunity to contrive expedients for reconciling all differences, and securing the peace and balance of power in Italy: nay, he consented that this important affair should be left to the arbitration of King George and the States-General. These powers undertook the office. Conferences were begun between the ministers of the emperor, France, England, and Holland; and these produced, in the course of the following year, the famous quadruple alliance. In this treaty it was stipulated, that the emperor should renounce all pretensions to the crown of Spain, and exchange Sardinia for Sicily, with the Duke of Savoy; that the succession to the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, which the Queen of Spain claimed by inheritance,

as Princess of the House of Farnese, should be settled on her eldest son, in case the present possessors should die without male issue. Philip, dissatisfied with this partition, continued to make formidable preparations by sea and land. The King of England and the Regent of France interposed their admonitions to no purpose. At length his Britannic majesty had recourse to more substantial arguments, and ordered a strong squadron to be equipped with all possible expedition[a].

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

On the third day of November, the Princess of Wales was delivered of a prince, the ceremony of whose baptism was productive of a difference between the grandfather and the father. The Prince of Wales intended that his uncle, the Duke of York, should stand godfather. The king ordered the Duke of Newcastle to stand for himself. After the ceremony, the prince expressed his resentment against this nobleman in very warm terms. The king ordered the prince to confine himself within his own apartments; and afterwards signified his pleasure that he should quit the palace of St. James. He retired with the princess to a house belonging to the Earl of Grantham; but the children were detained at the palace. All peers and peeresses, and all privy-counsellors and their wives, were given to understand, that in case they visited the prince and princess, they should have no access to his majesty's presence; and all who enjoyed posts and places under both king and prince were obliged to quit the service of one or other, at their option. When the Parliament met on the twenty-first day of November, the king, in his speech, told both Houses that he had reduced the army to very near one half, since the beginning of the last session: he expressed his desire that all those who were friends

[a] See note [A], vol. vi.

to the present happy establishment might unanimously concur in some proper method for the greater strengthening the protestant interest, of which, as the church of England was unquestionably the main support and bulwark, so would she reap the principal benefit of every advantage accruing from the union and mutual charity of all protestants. After the addresses of thanks, which were couched in the usual style, the Commons proceeded to take into consideration the estimates and accounts, in order to settle the establishment of the army, navy, and ordnance. Ten thousand men were voted for the sea-service. When the supply for the army fell under deliberation, a very warm debate ensued, upon the number of troops necessary to be maintained. Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, and Mr. Walpole, in a long elaborate harangue, insisted upon its being reduced to twelve thousand. They were answered by Mr. Craggs, secretary at war, and Sir David Dalrymple. Mr. Shippen, in the course of the debate, said the second paragraph of the king's speech seemed rather to be calculated for the meridian of Germany than for Great Britain; and it was a great misfortune that the king was a stranger to our language and constitution. Mr. Lechmere affirmed this was a scandalous invective against the king's person and government; and moved that he who uttered it should be sent to the Tower. Mr. Shippen, refusing to retract or excuse what he had said, was voted to the Tower by a great majority; and the number of standing forces was fixed at sixteen thousand three hundred and forty-seven effective men.

On account of the great scarcity of silver coin, occasioned by the exportation of silver, and the importation of gold, a motion was made to put a stop to this growing evil by lowering the value of gold specie. The Commons examined a representation which had been made to the treasury by Sir Isaac Newton, master of the mint, on this subject. Mr. Caswell explained the

nature of a clandestine trade carried on by the Dutch and Hamburghers, in concert with the Jews of England and other traders, for exporting the silver coin and importing gold, which, being coined at the mint, yielded a profit of fifteen-pence upon every guinea. The House, in an address to the king, desired that a proclamation might be issued, forbidding all persons to utter or receive guineas at a higher rate than one-and-twenty shillings each. His majesty complied with their request; but people hoarding up their silver, in hopes that the price of it would be raised, or in apprehension that the gold would be lowered still farther, the two Houses resolved that the standard of the gold and silver coins of the kingdom should not be altered in fineness, weight, or denomination; and they ordered a bill to be brought in, to prevent the melting down of the silver coin. At this period, one James Shepherd, a youth of eighteen, apprentice to a coachmaker, and an enthusiast in jacobitism, sent a letter to a nonjuring clergyman, proposing a scheme for assassinating King George. He was immediately apprehended, owned the design, was tried, condemned, and executed at Tyburn. This was likewise the fate of the Marquis de Palleotti, an Italian nobleman, brother to the Duchess of Shrewsbury. He had, in a transport of passion, killed his own servant, and seemed indeed to be disordered in his brain. After he had received sentence of death, the king's pardon was earnestly solicited by his sister the duchess, and many other persons of the first distinction; but the common people became so clamorous, that it was thought dangerous to rescue him from the penalties of the law, which he accordingly underwent in the most ignominious manner. No subject produced so much heat and altercation in Parliament during this session as did the bill for regulating the land-forces, and punishing mutiny and desertion: a bill which was looked upon as an encroachment upon the liberties and

constitution of England, inasmuch as it established martial law, which wrested from the civil magistrate the cognizance of crimes and misdemeanors committed by the soldiers and officers of the army: a jurisdiction inconsistent with the genius and disposition of the people. The dangers that might accrue from such a power were explained in the Lower House by Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Harley, and Mr. Robert Walpole, which last, however, voted afterwards for the bill. In the House of Lords, it was strenuously opposed by the Earls of Oxford, Strafford, and Lord Harcourt. Their objections were answered by Lord Carteret. The bill passed by a great majority; but divers lords entered a protest. This affair being discussed, a bill was brought in for vesting in trustees the forfeited estates in Britain and Ireland, to be sold for the use of the public; for giving relief to lawful creditors, by determining the claims, and for the more effectual bringing into the respective exchequers the rents and profits of the estates till sold. The time of claiming was prolonged: the sum of twenty thousand pounds was reserved out of the sale of the estates in Scotland for erecting schools; and eight thousand pounds for building barracks in that kingdom[b]. The king having signified, by a message to the House of Commons, that he had lately received such information from abroad as gave reason to believe that a naval force, employed where it should be necessary, would give weight to his endeavours; he therefore thought fit to acquaint the House with this circumstance, not doubting but that in case he should be obliged, at this critical juncture, to exceed the number of men granted this year for the sea-service, the House would provide for such exceeding. The Commons immediately drew up and presented an address, assuring his majesty that they

[b] Oldmixon. Annals. Lamberty. Burchet. Hist. Reg. Tindal. State Trials. Parliament. Bolingbroke. Lives of the Admirals

would make good such exceedings of seamen as he should find necessary to preserve the tranquillity of Europe. On the twenty-first day of March, the king went to the House of Peers, and having passed the bills that were ready for the royal assent, ordered the Parliament to be prorogued[c].

NATURE OF THE QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE.

The King of Spain, by the care and indefatigable diligence of his prime minister, Cardinal Alberoni, equipped a very formidable armament, which, in the beginning of June, set sail from Barcelona towards Italy; but the destination of it was not known. A strong squadron having been fitted out in England, the Marquis de Monteleone, ambassador from Spain, presented a memorial to the British ministry, importing that so powerful an armament in time of peace could not but give umbrage to the king his master, and alter the good intelligence that subsisted between the two crowns. In answer to this representation, the ministers declared that the king intended to send Admiral Byng with a powerful squadron into the Mediterranean, to maintain the neutrality in Italy. Meanwhile, the negotiations between the English and French ministers produced the quadruple alliance, by which King George and the regent prescribed a peace between the emperor, the King of Spain, and the King of Sicily, and undertook to compel Philip and the Savoyard to submit to such conditions as they had concerted with his imperial majesty. These powers were allowed only three months to consider the articles, and declare whether they would reject them, or acquiesce in the partition. Nothing

[c] Earl Cowper, lord chancellor, resigned the great seal, which was at first put in commission, but afterwards given to Lord Parker, as high chancellor. The Earl of Sunderland was made president of the council, and first commissioner of the treasury; Lord Stanhope and Mr. Craggs were appointed secretaries of state; Lord Stanhope and Lord Cadogan were afterwards created earls.

could be more contradictory to the true interest of Great Britain than this treaty, which destroyed the balance in Italy, by throwing such an accession of power into the hands of the house of Austria. It interrupted the commerce with Spain, involved the kingdom in an immediate war with that monarchy, and gave rise to all the quarrels and disputes which have arisen between England and Spain in the sequel. The States-General did not approve of such violent measures, and for some time kept aloof; but at length they acceded to the quadruple alliance, which indeed was no other than a very expensive compliment to the emperor, who was desirous of adding Sicily to his other Italian dominions.

ADMIRAL BYNG SAILS TO THE MEDITERRANEAN.

The King of England had used some endeavours to compromise the difference between his imperial majesty and the Spanish branch of the house of Bourbon. Lord Stanhope had been sent to Madrid with a plan of pacification, which being rejected by Philip as partial and iniquitous, the king determined to support his mediation by force of arms. Sir George Byng sailed from Spithead on the fourth day of June, with twenty ships of the line, two fire-ships, two bomb-vessels, and ample instructions how to act on all emergencies. He arrived off Cape St. Vincent on the thirtieth day of the month, and despatched his secretary to Cadiz, with a letter to Colonel Stanhope, the British minister at Madrid, desiring him to inform his most catholic majesty of the admiral's arrival in those parts, and lay before him this article of his instructions: "You are to make instances with both parties to cease from using any further acts of hostility; but in case the Spaniards do still insist, with their ships of war and forces, to attack the king-

dom of Naples, or other the territories of the emperor in Italy, or to land in any part of Italy, which can only be with a design to invade the emperor's dominions, against whom only they have declared war by invading Sardinia; or if they should endeavour to make themselves masters of the kingdom of Sicily, which must be with a design to invade the kingdom of Naples; in which case you are, with all your power, to hinder and obstruct the same. If it should so happen, that at your arrival, with our fleet under your command, in the Mediterranean, the Spaniards should already have landed any troops in Italy in order to invade the emperor's territories, you shall endeavour amicably to dissuade them from persevering in such an attempt, and offer them your assistance, to help them to withdraw their troops, and put an end to all further acts of hostility. But in case these your friendly endeavours should prove ineffectual, you shall, by keeping company with, or intercepting their ships or convoy, or, if it be necessary, by openly opposing them, defend the emperor's territories from any further attempt." When Cardinal Alberoni perused these instructions, he told Colonel Stanhope with some warmth, that his master would run all hazards, and even suffer himself to be driven out of Spain, rather than recall his troops, or consent to a suspension of arms. He said the Spaniards were not to be frightened; and he was so well convinced that the fleet would do their duty, that in case of their being attacked by Admiral Byng, he should be in no pain for the success. Mr. Stanhope presenting him with a list of the British squadron, he threw it upon the ground with great emotion. He promised, however, to lay the admiral's letter before the king, and to let the envoy know his majesty's resolution. Such an interposition could not but be very provoking to the Spanish minister, who had laid his account with the conquest of Sicily, and for that purpose prepared an armament, which was altogether sur-

prising, considering the late shattered condition of the Spanish affairs. But he seems to have put too much confidence in the strength of the Spanish fleet. In a few days he sent back the admiral's letter to Mr. Stanhope, with a note under it, importing, that the Chevalier Byng might execute the orders he had received from the king his master.

HE DESTROYS THE SPANISH FLEET OFF CAPE PASSARO.

The admiral, in passing by Gibraltar, was joined by Vice-Admiral Cornwall, with two ships. He proceeded to Minorca, where he relieved the garrison of Port-Mahon. Then he sailed for Naples, where he arrived on the first day of August, and was received as a deliverer; for the Neapolitans had been under the utmost terror of an invasion from the Spaniards. Sir George Byng received intelligence from the viceroy, Count Daun, who treated him with the most distinguishing marks of respect, that the Spanish army, amounting to thirty thousand men, commanded by the Marquis de Lede, had landed in Sicily, reduced Palermo and Messina, and were then employed in the siege of the citadel belonging to this last city; that the Piedmontese garrison would be obliged to surrender, if not speedily relieved; that an alliance was upon the carpet between the emperor and the King of Sicily, which last had desired the assistance of the imperial troops, and agreed to receive them into the citadel of Messina. The admiral immediately resolved to sail thither, and took under his convoy a reinforcement of two thousand Germans for the citadel, under the command of General Wetzel. He forthwith sailed from Naples, and on the ninth day of August was in sight of the Faro of Messina. He despatched his own captain, with a polite message to the Marquis de Lede, proposing a cessation

of arms in Sicily for two months, that the powers of Europe might have time to concert measures for restoring a lasting peace; and declaring, that should this proposal be rejected, he would, in pursuance of his directions, use all his force to prevent further attempts to disturb the dominions his master had engaged to defend. The Spanish general answered, that he had no power to treat, and consequently could not agree to an armistice, but should obey his orders, which directed him to reduce Sicily for his master the King of Spain. The Spanish fleet had sailed from the harbour of Messina on the day before the English squadron appeared. Admiral Byng supposed they had retired to Malta, and directed his course towards Messina, in order to encourage and support the garrison in the citadel. But, in doubling the point of Faro, he descried two Spanish scouts, and learned from the people of a felucca from the Calabrian shore, that they had seen from the hills the Spanish fleet lying-to in order of battle. The admiral immediately detached the German troops to Reggio, under convoy of two ships of war. Then he stood through the Faro after the Spanish scouts that led him to their main fleet, which before noon he descried in line of battle, amounting to seven-and-twenty sail, large and small, besides two fire-ships, four bomb-vessels, and seven galleys. They were commanded in chief by Don Antonio de Castanita, under whom were the four Rear-Admirals Chacon, Mari, Guevara, and Cammock. At sight of the English squadron, they stood away large, and Byng gave chase all the rest of the day. In the morning, which was the eleventh of August, Rear-Admiral de Mari, with six ships of war, the galleys, fire-ships, and bomb-ketches, separated from the main fleet, and stood in for the Sicilian shore. The English admiral detached Captain Walton with five ships in pursuit of them; and they were soon engaged. He himself continued to chase their main fleet; and about ten

o'clock the battle began. The Spaniards seemed to be distracted in their councils, and acted in confusion. They made a running fight: yet the admirals behaved with courage and activity, in spite of which they were all taken, except Cammock, who made his escape with three ships of war and three frigates. In this engagement, which happened off Cape Passaro, Captain Haddock, of the Grafton, signalized his courage in an extraordinary manner. On the eighteenth the admiral received a letter from Captain Walton, dated off Syracuse, intimating that he had taken four Spanish ships of war, together with a bomb-ketch, and a vessel laden with arms; and that he had burned four ships of the line, a fire-ship, and a bomb-vessel[d]. Had the Spaniards followed the advice of Rear-Admiral Cammock, who was a native of Ireland, Sir George Byng would not have obtained such an easy victory. That officer proposed that they should remain at anchor in the road of Paradise, with their broadsides to the sea; in which case the English admiral would have found it a very difficult task to attack them; for the coast is so bold, that the largest ships could ride with a cable ashore; whereas farther out the currents are so various and rapid, that the English squadron could not have come to anchor, or lie near them in order of battle; besides, the Spaniards might have been reinforced from the army on shore, which would have raised batteries to annoy the assailants. Before King George had received an account of this engagement from the admiral, he wrote him a letter with his own hand, approving his conduct. When Sir George's eldest son arrived in England, with a circumstantial account of the action, he was graciously received, and sent back with plenipotentiary powers to his father, that he might

[d] This letter is justly deemed a curious specimen of the laconic style.

"Sir,

"We have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships and vessels which were upon the coast; the number as per margin. I am, &c.

"G. WALTON."

negotiate with the several princes and states of Italy as he should see occasion. The son likewise carried the king's royal grant to the officers and seamen of the prizes they had taken from the Spaniards. Notwithstanding this victory, the Spanish army carried on the siege of the citadel of Messina with such vigour, that the governor surrendered the place by capitulation on the twenty-ninth day of September. A treaty was now concluded at Vienna between the emperor and the Duke of Savoy. They agreed to form an army for the conquest of Sardinia in behalf of the duke; and in the mean time this prince engaged to evacuate Sicily; but until his troops could be conveyed from that island, he consented that they should co-operate with the Germans against the common enemy. Admiral Byng continued to assist the imperialists in Sicily during the best part of the winter, by scouring the seas of the Spaniards, and keeping the communication open between the German forces and the Calabrian shore, from whence they were supplied with provisions. He acted in this service with equal conduct, resolution, and activity. He conferred with the Viceroy of Naples and the other imperial generals about the operations of the ensuing campaign, and Count Hamilton was despatched to Vienna, to lay before the emperor the result of their deliberations: then the admiral set sail for Mahon, where the ships might be refitted, and put in a condition to take the sea in the spring.

REMONSTRANCES OF THE SPANISH MINISTRY.

The destruction of the Spanish fleet was a subject that employed the deliberations and conjectures of all the politicians in Europe. Spain exclaimed against the conduct of England, as inconsistent with the rules of good faith, for the observation of which she had always been so famous. The Marquis de Monteleone wrote a letter to Mr. Secretary Craggs, in which he expostulated with

him upon such an unprecedented outrage. Cardinal Alberoni, in a letter to that minister, inveighed against it as a base unworthy action. He said the neutrality of Italy was a weak pretence, since every body knew that neutrality had long been at an end; and that the prince's guarantees of the treaty of Utrecht were entirely discharged from their engagements, not only by the scandalous infringements committed by the Austrians in the evacuation of Catalonia and Majorca; but also because the guarantee was no longer binding than till a peace was concluded with France. He taxed the British ministry with having revived and supported this neutrality, not by an amicable mediation, but by open violence, and artfully abusing the confidence and security of the Spaniards. This was the language of disappointed ambition. Nevertheless it must be owned, that the conduct of England, on this occasion, was irregular, partial, and precipitate.

The Parliament meeting on the eleventh day of November, the king, in his speech, declared that the court of Spain had rejected all his amicable proposals, and broke through their most solemn engagements, for the security of the British commerce. To vindicate, therefore, the faith of his former treaties, as well as to maintain those he had lately made, and to protect and defend the trade of his subjects, which had in every branch been violently and unjustly oppressed, it became necessary for his naval forces to check their progress: that notwithstanding the success of his arms, that court had lately given orders at all the ports of Spain and of the West Indies to fit out privateers against the English. He said he was persuaded that a British Parliament would enable him to resent such treatment; and he assured them that his good brother, the Regent of France, was ready to concur with him in the most vigorous measures. A strong opposition was made in both Houses to the motion for an address of thanks and con-

gratulation proposed by Lord Carteret. Several peers observed, that such an address was, in effect, to approve a sea-fight which might be attended with dangerous consequences, and to give the sanction of that august assembly to measures which, upon examination, might appear either to clash with the law of nations, or former treaties, or to be prejudicial to the trade of Great Britain: that they ought to proceed with the utmost caution and maturest deliberation, in an affair wherein the honour as well as the interest of the nation were so highly concerned. Lord Strafford moved for an address, that Sir George Byng's instructions might be laid before the House. Earl Stanhope replied, that there was no occasion for such an address, since by his majesty's command he had already laid before the House the treaties, of which the late sea-fight was a consequence; particularly the treaty for a defensive alliance between the emperor and his majesty, concluded at Westminster on the twenty-fifth day of May, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen; and the treaty of alliance for restoring and settling the public peace, signed at London on the twenty-second day of July. He affirmed, that the court of Spain had violated the treaty of Utrecht, and acted against the public faith in attacking the emperor's dominions, while he was engaged in a war against the enemies of Christendom; that they had rejected his majesty's friendly offices and offers for mediating an accommodation. He explained the cause of his journey to Spain, and his negotiations at Madrid. He added, it was high time to check the growth of the naval power of Spain, in order to protect and secure the trade of the British subjects which had been violently oppressed by the Spaniards. After a long debate, the motion was carried by a considerable majority. The same subject excited disputes of the same nature in the House of Commons, where Lord Hinchingbroke moved, that in their address of thanks they

should declare their entire satisfaction in those measures which the king had already taken for strengthening the protestant succession, and establishing a lasting tranquillity in Europe. The members in the opposition urged, that it was unparliamentary and unprecedented, on the first day of the session, to enter upon particulars: that the business in question was of the highest importance, and deserved the most mature deliberation: that before they approved the measures which had been taken, they ought to examine the reasons on which those measures were founded. Mr. Robert Walpole affirmed, that the giving sanction, in the manner proposed, to the late measures, could have no other view than that of screening ministers, who were conscious of having begun a war against Spain, and now wanted to make it the Parliament's war. He observed, that instead of an entire satisfaction, they ought to express their entire dissatisfaction, with such conduct as was contrary to the law of nations, and a breach of the most solemn treaties. Mr. Secretary Craggs, in a long speech, explained the nature of the quadruple alliance, and justified all the measures which had been taken. The address, as moved by Lord Hinchingbroke, was at length carried, and presented to his majesty. Then the Commons proceeded to consider the supply. They voted thirteen thousand five hundred sailors; and twelve thousand four hundred and thirty-five men for the land-service. The whole estimate amounted to two millions two hundred and fifty-seven thousand five hundred eighty-one pounds, nineteen shillings. The money was raised by a land-tax, malt-tax, and lottery.

ACT FOR STRENGTHENING THE PROTESTANT INTEREST.

On the thirteenth day of December, Earl Stanhope declared, in the House of Lords, that, in order to unite

the hearts of the well-affected to the present establishment, he had a bill to offer under the title of "An act for strengthening the protestant interest in these kingdoms." It was accordingly read, and appeared to be a bill repealing the acts against occasional conformity, the growth of schism, and some clauses in the corporation and test acts. This had been concerted by the ministry in private meetings with the most eminent dissenters. The tory lords were astonished at this motion, for which they were altogether unprepared. Nevertheless, they were strenuous in their opposition. They alleged that the bill, instead of strengthening, would certainly weaken the church of England, by plucking off her best feathers, investing her enemies with power, and sharing with churchmen the civil and military employments of which they were then wholly possessed. Earl Cowper declared himself against that part of the bill by which some clauses of the test and corporation acts were repealed; because he looked upon those acts as the main bulwark of our excellent constitution in church and state, which ought to be inviolably preserved. The Earl of Ilay opposed the bill, because, in his opinion, it infringed the *pacta conventa* of the treaty of union, by which the bounds both of the church of England and of the church of Scotland were fixed and settled; and he was apprehensive, if the articles of the union were broke with respect to one church, it might afterwards be a precedent to break them with respect to the other. The Archbishop of Canterbury said the acts which by this bill would be repealed were the main bulwark and supporters of the English church: he expressed all imaginable tenderness for well-meaning conscientious dissenters; but he could not forbear saying, some among that sect made a wrong use of the favour and indulgence shown to them at the Revolution, though they had the least share in that happy event: it was, therefore, thought necessary for the legislature to

interpose, and put a stop to the scandalous practice of occasional conformity. He added, that it would be needless to repeal the act against schism, since no advantage had been taken of it to the prejudice of the dissenters. Dr. Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor, endeavoured to prove, that the occasional and schism acts were in effect persecuting laws; and that by admitting the principle of self-defence and self-preservation in matters of religion, all the persecutions maintained by the heathens against the professors of Christianity, and even the popish inquisition, might be justified. With respect to the power of which many clergymen appeared so fond and so zealous, he owned the desire of power and riches was natural to all men; but that he had learned, both from reason and from the gospel, that this desire must be kept within due bounds, and not intrench upon the rights and liberties of their fellow-creatures and countrymen. After a long debate, the House agreed to leave out some clauses concerning the test and corporation acts: then the bill was committed, and afterwards passed. In the Lower House it met with violent opposition, in spite of which it was carried by the majority.

WAR DECLARED AGAINST SPAIN.

The king, on the seventeenth day of December, sent a message to the Commons, importing, that all his endeavours to procure redress for the injuries done to his subjects by the King of Spain having proved ineffectual, he had found it necessary to declare war against that monarch. When a motion was made for an address, to assure the king they would cheerfully support him in the prosecution of the war, Mr. Shippen and some other members said, they did not see the necessity of involving the nation in a war, on account of some grievances of which the merchants complained,

as these might be amicably redressed. Mr. Stanhope assured the House, that he had presented five-and-twenty memorials to the ministry of Spain on that subject, without success. Mr. Methuen accounted for the dilatory proceedings of the Spanish court in commercial affairs, by explaining the great variety of regulations in the several provinces and ports of that kingdom. It was suggested, that the ministry paid very little regard to the trade and interest of the nation; inasmuch as it appeared by the answers from a secretary of state to the letter of the Marquis de Monteleone, that they would have overlooked the violation of the treaties of commerce, provided Spain had accepted the conditions stipulated in the quadruple alliance; for it was there expressly said, that his majesty, the King of Great Britain, did not seek to aggrandize himself by any new acquisitions, but was rather inclined to sacrifice something of his own to procure the general quiet and tranquillity of Europe. A member observed, that nobody could tell how far that sacrifice would have extended; but certainly it was a very uncommon stretch of condescension. This sacrifice was said to be the cession of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, which the Regent of France had offered to the King of Spain, provided he would accede to the quadruple alliance. Horatio Walpole observed, that the disposition of Sicily in favour of the emperor was an infraction of the treaty of Utrecht; and his brother exclaimed against the injustice of attacking the Spanish fleet before a declaration of war. Notwithstanding all these arguments and objections, the majority agreed to the address; and such another was carried in the Upper House without a division. The declaration of war against Spain was published with the usual solemnities; but this war was not a favourite of the people, and therefore did not produce those acclamations that were usual on such occasions.

CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE REGENT OF FRANCE.

Meanwhile Cardinal Alberoni employed all his intrigues, power, and industry, for the gratification of his revenge. He caused new ships to be built, the seaports to be put in a posture of defence, succours to be sent to Sicily, and the proper measures to be taken for the security of Sardinia. He, by means of the Prince de Cellamare, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, caballed with the malcontents of that kingdom, who were numerous and powerful. A scheme was actually formed for seizing the regent, and securing the person of the king. The Duke of Orleans owed the first intimation of this plot to King George, who gave him to understand, that a conspiracy was formed against his person and government. The regent immediately took measures for watching the conduct of all suspected persons; but the whole intrigue was discovered by accident. The Prince de Cellamare intrusted his despatches to the Abbé Portocarrero, and to a son of the Marquis de Monteleone. These emissaries set out from Paris in a post-chaise, and were overturned. The postilion overheard Portocarrero say, he would not have lost his portmanteau for a hundred thousand pistoles. The man, at his return to Paris, gave notice to the government of what he had observed. The Spaniards, being pursued, were overtaken and seized at Poitiers, with the portmanteau, in which the regent found two letters that made him acquainted with the particulars of the conspiracy. The Prince de Cellamare was immediately conducted to the frontiers; the Duke of Maine, the Marquis de Pompadour, the Cardinal de Polignac, and many other persons of distinction, were committed to different prisons. The regent declared war against Spain on the twenty-ninth day of

December; and an army of six-and-thirty thousand men began its march towards that kingdom in January, under the command of the Duke of Berwick.

INTENDED INVASION BY THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

Cardinal Alberoni had likewise formed a scheme in favour of the pretender. The Duke of Ormond, repairing to Madrid, held conferences with his eminence; and measures were concerted for exciting another insurrection in Great Britain. The Chevalier de St. George quitted Urbino by stealth; and embarking at Netteno, landed at Cagliari in March. From thence he took his passage to Roses in Catalonia, and proceeded to Madrid, where he was received with great cordiality, and treated as King of Great Britain. An armament had been equipped of ten ships of war and transports, having on board six thousand regular troops, with arms for twelve thousand men. The command of this fleet was bestowed on the Duke of Ormond, with the title of captain-general of his most catholic majesty. He was provided with declarations in the name of that king, importing, that for many good reasons he had sent part of his land and sea forces into England and Scotland, to act as auxiliaries to King James. His Britannic majesty, having received from the Regent of France timely notice of this intended invasion, offered, by proclamation, rewards to those that should apprehend the Duke of Ormond, or any gentleman embarked in that expedition. Troops were ordered to assemble in the north, and in the west of England: two thousand men were demanded of the States-General: a strong squadron was equipped to oppose the Spanish armament; and the Duke of Orleans made a proffer to King George of twenty battalions for his service.

THREE HUNDRED SPANIARDS LAND AND ARE TAKEN IN SCOTLAND.

His majesty having communicated to both Houses of Parliament the repeated advices he had received touching this projected descent, they promised to support him against all his enemies. They desired he would augment his forces by sea and land; and assured him they would make good the extraordinary expense. Two thousand men were landed from Holland, and six battalions of imperialists from the Austrian Netherlands. The Duke of Ormond sailed from Cadiz, and proceeded as far as Cape Finisterre, where his fleet was dispersed and disabled by a violent storm, which entirely defeated the purposed expedition. Two frigates, however, arrived in Scotland, with the Earls Marischal and Seaforth, the Marquis of Tullibardine, some field officers, three hundred Spaniards, and arms for two thousand men. They were joined by a small body of Highlanders, and possessed themselves of Donan Castle. Against these adventurers General Wightman marched with a body of regular troops from Inverness. They had taken possession of the pass at Glenshiel; but, at the approach of the king's forces, retired to the pass at Strachell, which they resolved to defend. They were attacked and driven from one eminence to another till night, when the Highlanders dispersed, and next day the Spaniards surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Marischal, Seaforth, and Tullibardine, with some officers, retired to one of the western isles, in order to wait an opportunity of being conveyed to the Continent.

ACCOUNT OF THE PEERAGE BILL.

On the last day of February the Duke of Somerset represented in the House of Lords, that the number of

peers being very much increased, especially since the union of the two kingdoms, it seemed absolutely necessary to take effectual measures for preventing the inconveniences that might attend the creation of a great number of peers, to serve a present purpose; an expedient which had been actually taken in the late reign. He therefore moved that a bill should be brought in, to settle and limit the peerage, in such a manner, that the number of English peers should not be enlarged beyond six above the present number, which, upon failure of male issue, might be supplied by new creations: that instead of the sixteen elective peers from Scotland, twenty-five should be made hereditary on the part of that kingdom; and that this number, upon failure of the heirs male, should be supplied from the other members of the Scottish peerage. This bill was intended as a restraint upon the Prince of Wales, who happened to be at variance with the present ministry. The motion was supported by the Duke of Argyle, now lord steward of the household, the Earls of Sunderland and Carlisle. It was opposed by the Earl of Oxford, who said, that although he expected nothing from the crown, he would never give his vote for lopping off so valuable a branch of the prerogative, which enabled the king to reward merit and virtuous actions. The debate was adjourned to the second day of March, when Earl Stanhope delivered a message from the king, intimating, that as they had under consideration the state of the British peerage, he had so much at heart the settling it upon such a foundation as might secure the freedom and constitution of Parliaments in all future ages, that he was willing his prerogative should not stand in the way of so great and necessary a work. Another violent debate ensued between the two factions. The question here, as in almost every other dispute, was not, Whether the measure proposed was advantageous to the nation? but, Whether the tory or the whig interest should pre-

dominate in Parliament? Earl Cowper affirmed, that the part of the bill relating to the Scottish peerage was a manifest violation of the treaty of union, as well as a flagrant piece of injustice, as it would deprive persons of their right without being heard, and without any pretence or forfeiture on their part. He observed, that the Scottish peers excluded from the number of the twenty-five would be in a worse condition than any other subjects in the kingdom; for they would be neither electing nor elected, neither representing nor represented[e]. These objections were overruled: several resolutions were taken agreeably to the motion; and the judges were ordered to prepare and bring in the bill. This measure alarmed the generality of Scottish peers, as well as many English commoners, who saw in the bill the avenues of dignity and title shut up against them; and they did not fail to exclaim against it, as an encroachment upon the fundamental maxims of the constitution. Treatises were written and published on both sides of the question; and a national clamour began to arise, when Earl Stanhope observed, in the House, that as the bill had raised strange apprehensions, he thought it advisable to postpone the further consideration of it till a more proper opportunity. It was accordingly dropped, and the Parliament prorogued on the eighteenth day of April, on which occasion his majesty told both Houses that the Spanish king had acknowledged the pretender.

COUNT MERCI ASSUMES THE COMMAND OF THE IMPERIAL ARMY IN SICILY.

The king having appointed lords justices to rule the kingdom in his absence, embarked in May for Holland, from whence he proceeded to Hanover, where he concluded a peace with Ulrica, the new Queen of

[e] Annals. Corbet. Tindal. Historical Register. Debates in Parliament, Lives of the Admirals.

Sweden. By this treaty Sweden yielded for ever to the royal and electoral house of Brunswick, the duchies of Bremen and Verden, with all their dependencies: King George obliged himself to pay a million of rix-dollars to the Queen of Sweden; and to renew, as King of Great Britain and Elector of Hanover, the alliances formerly subsisting between his predecessors and that kingdom. He likewise mediated a peace between Sweden and his former allies, the Danes, the Prussians, and the Poles. The czar, however, refused to give up his schemes of conquest. He sent his fleet to the Scheuron or Batses of Sweden, where his troops landing, to the number of fifteen thousand, committed dreadful outrages; but Sir John Norris, who commanded an English squadron in those seas, having orders to support the negotiations, and oppose any hostilities that might be committed, the czar, dreading the fate of the Spanish navy, thought proper to recall his fleet. In the Mediterranean, Admiral Byng acted with unwearied vigour in assisting the imperialists to finish the conquest of Sicily. The court of Vienna had agreed to send a strong body of forces to finish the reduction of that island; and the command in this expedition was bestowed upon the Count de Merci, with whom Sir George Byng conferred at Naples. This admiral supplied them with ammunition and artillery from the Spanish prizes. He took the whole reinforcement under his convoy, and saw them safely landed in the bay of Patti, to the number of three thousand five hundred horse, and ten thousand infantry. Count Merci thinking himself more than a match for the Spanish forces commanded by the Marquis de Lede, attacked him in a strong camp at Franca-Villa, and was repulsed with the loss of five thousand men, himself being dangerously wounded in the action. Here his army must have perished for want of provision, had they not been supplied by the English navy.

ACTIVITY OF ADMIRAL BYNG.

Admiral Byng no sooner learned the bad success of the attack at Franca-Villa than he embarked two battalions from the garrison of Melazzo, and about a thousand recruits, whom he sent under a convoy through the Faro to Scheso-bay, in order to reinforce the imperial army. He afterwards assisted at a council of war with the German generals, who, in consequence of his advice, undertook the siege of Messina. Then he repaired to Naples, where he proposed to Count Gallas, the new viceroy, that the troops destined for the conquest of Sardinia should be first landed in Sicily, and co-operate towards the conquest of that island. The proposal was immediately despatched to the court of Vienna. In the mean time the admiral returned to Sicily, and assisted at the siege of Messina. The town surrendered; the garrison retired into the citadel; and the remains of the Spanish navy, which had escaped at Passaro, were now destroyed in the Mole. The emperor approved of the scheme proposed by the English admiral, to whom he wrote a very gracious letter, intimating that he had despatched orders to the governor of Milan, to detach the troops designed for Sardinia to Vado, in order to be transported into Italy. The admiral charged himself with the performance of this service. Having furnished the imperial army before Messina with another supply of cannon, powder, and shot, upon his own credit, he set sail for Vado, where he surmounted numberless difficulties, started by the jealousy of Count Bonneval, who was unwilling to see his troops, destined for Sardinia, now diverted to another expedition, in which he could not enjoy the chief command. At length Admiral Byng saw the forces embarked, and convoyed them to Messina, the citadel of which surrendered in a few days after their arrival.

By this time the Marquis de Lede had fortified a strong post at Castro-Giovanne, in the centre of the island; and cantoned his troops about Aderno, Palermo, and Catanea. The imperialists could not pretend to attack him in this situation, nor could they remain in the neighbourhood of Messina, on account of the scarcity of provisions. They would, therefore, have been obliged to quit the island during the winter, had not the admiral undertaken to transport them by sea to Trapani, where they could extend themselves in a plentiful country. He not only executed this enterprise, but even supplied them with corn from Tunis, as the harvest of Sicily had been gathered into the Spanish magazines. It was the second day of March before the last embarkation of the imperial troops were landed at Trapani.

THE SPANISH TROOPS EVACUATE SICILY.

The Marquis de Lede immediately retired with his army to Alcamo, from whence he sent his mareschal de camp to Count Merci and the English admiral, with overtures for evacuating Sicily. The proposals were not disagreeable to the Germans; but Sir George Byng declared that the Spaniards should not quit the island while the war continued, as he foresaw that these troops would be employed against France or England. He agreed, however, with Count Merci, in proposing, that if the marquis would surrender Palermo, and retire into the middle part of the island, they would consent to an armistice for six weeks, until the sentiments of their different courts should be known. The marquis offered to surrender Palermo, in consideration of a suspension of arms for three months; but while this negotiation was depending, he received advice from Madrid that a general peace was concluded. Nevertheless, he broke off the treaty in obedience to a secret order for that purpose. The King of Spain hoped to obtain the resti-

tution of St. Sebastian's, Fontarabia, and other places taken in the course of the war, in exchange for the evacuation of Sicily. Hostilities were continued until the admiral received advice from the Earl of Stair at Paris that the Spanish ambassador at the Hague had signed the quadruple alliance. By the same courier packets were delivered to the Count de Merci and the Marquis de Lede, which last gave the admiral and imperial general to understand that he looked upon the peace as a thing concluded; and was ready to treat for a cessation of hostilities. They insisted upon his delivering up Palermo: on the other hand, he urged that, as their masters were in treaty for settling the terms of evacuating Sicily and Sardinia, he did not think himself authorized to agree to a cessation, except on condition that each party should remain on the ground they occupied, and expect further orders from their principals. After a fruitless interview between the three chiefs at the Cassine de Rossignola, the imperial general resolved to undertake the siege of Palermo: with this view he decamped from Alcamo on the eighteenth day of April, and followed the Marquis de Lede, who retreated before him, and took possession of the advantageous posts that commanded the passes into the plain of Palermo; but Count Merci, with indefatigable diligence, marched over the mountains, while the admiral coasted along shore, attending the motions of the army. The Spanish general, perceiving the Germans advancing into the plain, retired under the cannon of Palermo, and fortified his camp with strong intrenchments. On the second day of May the Germans took one of the enemy's redoubts by surprise, and the Marquis de Lede ordered all his forces to be drawn out to retake this fortification: both armies were on the point of engaging, when a courier arrived in a felucca, with a packet for the marquis, containing full powers to treat and agree about the evacuation of the island, and the trans-

portation of the army to Spain. He forthwith drew off his army, and sent a trumpet to the general and admiral, with letters, informing them of the orders he had received. Commissioners were appointed on each side, the negotiations begun, and the convention signed in a very few days. The Germans were put in possession of Palermo, and the Spanish army marched to Tauromini, from whence they were transported to Barcelona.

PHILIP OBLIGED TO ACCEDE TO THE QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE.

The admiral continued in the Mediterranean until he had seen the islands of Sicily and Sardinia evacuated by the Spaniards, and the mutual cessions executed between the emperor and the Duke of Savoy; in consequence of which, four battalions of Piedmontese troops were transported from Palermo to Sardinia, and took possession of Cagliari in the name of their master. In a word, Admiral Byng bore such a considerable share in this war of Sicily, that the fate of the island depended wholly on his courage, vigilance, and conduct. When he waited on his majesty at Hanover, he met with a very gracious reception. The king told him he had found out the secret of obliging his enemies as well as his friends; for the court of Spain had mentioned him in the most honourable terms, with respect to his candid and friendly deportment, in providing transports and other necessaries for the embarkation of their troops, and in protecting them from oppression. He was appointed treasurer of the navy, and rear-admiral of Great Britain: in a little time the king ennobled him, by the title of Viscount Torrington: he was declared a privy-counsellor; and afterwards made knight of the bath, at the revival of that order. During these occurrences in the Mediterranean, the Duke of Berwick advanced with the French army to the frontiers of Spain, where he

took Fort Passage, and destroyed six ships of war that were on the stocks: then he reduced Fontarabia and St. Sebastian's, together with Port Antonio in the bottom of the bay of Biscay. In this last exploit the French were assisted by a detachment of English seamen, who burned two large ships unfinished, and a great quantity of naval stores. The King of England, with a view to indemnify himself for the expense of the war, projected the conquest of Corunna in Biscay, and of Peru in South America. Four thousand men, commanded by Lord Cobham, were embarked at the Isle of Wight, and sailed on the twenty-first day of September, under convoy of five ships of war, conducted by Admiral Mighels. Instead of making an attempt upon Corunna, they reduced Vigo with very little difficulty; and Point-a-Vedra submitted without resistance: here they found some brass artillery, small arms, and military stores, with which they returned to England. In the mean time, Captain Johnson, with two English ships of war, destroyed the same number of Spanish ships in the port of Ribadeo, to the eastward of Cape Ortegas; so that the naval power of Spain was totally ruined. The expedition to the West Indies was prevented by the peace. Spain being oppressed on all sides, and utterly exhausted, Philip saw the necessity of a speedy pacification. He now perceived the madness of Alberoni's ambitious projects. That minister was personally disagreeable to the emperor, the King of England, and the Regent of France, who had declared they would hearken to no proposals while he should continue in office: the Spanish monarch, therefore, divested him of his employment, and ordered him to quit the kingdom in three weeks. The Marquis de Beretti Landi, minister from the court of Madrid at the Hague, delivered a plan of pacification to the states; but it was rejected by the allies; and Philip was obliged at last to accede to the quadruple alliance.

BILL FOR SECURING THE DEPENDENCY OF IRELAND UPON THE CROWN.

On the fourteenth day of November, King George returned to England, and on the twenty-third opened the session of Parliament with a speech, in which he told them that all Europe, as well as Great Britain, was on the point of being delivered from the calamities of war, by the influence of British arms and councils. He exhorted the Commons to concert proper means for lessening the debts of the nation; and concluded with a panegyric upon his own government. It must be owned he had acted with equal vigour and deliberation in all the troubles he had encountered since his accession to the throne. The addresses of both Houses were as warm as he could desire. They in particular extolled him for having interposed in behalf of the Protestants of Hungary, Poland, and Germany, who had been oppressed by the practices of the popish clergy, and presented to him memorials, containing a detail of their grievances. He and all the other protestant powers warmly interceded in their favour; but the grievances were not redressed. The peerage bill was now revived by the Duke of Buckingham; and, in spite of all opposition, passed through the House of Lords. It had been projected by Earl Stanhope, and eagerly supported by the Earl of Sunderland; therefore, Mr. Robert Walpole attacked it in the House of Commons with extraordinary vehemence. Here too it was opposed by a considerable number of whig members; and, after warm debates, rejected by a large majority. The next object that engrossed the attention of the Parliament was a bill for better securing the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain. Maurice Annesley had appealed to the House of Peers in England, from a decree of the House of Peers in Ireland, which

was reversed. The British Peers ordered the barons of the exchequer in Ireland to put Mr. Annesley in possession of the lands he had lost by the decree in that kingdom. The barons obeyed this order; and the Irish House of Peers passed a vote against them, as having acted in derogation to the king's prerogative in his high court of Parliament in Ireland, as also of the rights and privileges of that kingdom, and of the Parliament thereof; they likewise ordered them to be taken into custody of the usher of the black rod; they transmitted a long representation to the king, demonstrating their right to the final judicature of causes; and the Duke of Leeds, in the Upper House, urged fifteen reasons to support the claim of the Irish Peers. Notwithstanding these arguments, the House of Lords in England resolved that the barons of the exchequer in Ireland had acted with courage, according to law, in support of his majesty's prerogative, and with fidelity to the crown of Great Britain. They addressed the king to confer on them some marks of his royal favour, as a recompense for the ill usage they had undergone. Finally, they prepared the bill, by which the Irish House of Lords was deprived of all right to pass sentence, affirm, or reverse any judgment or decree, given or made, in any court within that kingdom. In the House of Commons it was opposed by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Hungerford, Lords Molesworth and Tyrconnel; but was carried by the majority, and received the royal assent.

SOUTH-SEA ACT.

The king having recommended to the Commons the consideration of proper means for lessening the national debt, was a prelude to the famous South-Sea act, which became productive of so much mischief and infatuation. The scheme was projected by Sir John Blunt, who had been bred a scrivener, and was possessed of all the cun-

ning, plausibility, and boldness requisite for such an undertaking. He communicated his plan to Mr. Aislabie, the chancellor of the exchequer, as well as to one of the secretaries of state. He answered all their objections; and the project was adopted. They foresaw their own private advantage in the execution of the design, which was imparted in the name of the South-Sea company, of which Blunt was a director, who influenced all their proceedings. The pretence for the scheme was to discharge the national debt, by reducing all the funds into one. The bank and South-Sea company outbid each other. The South-Sea company altered their original plan, and offered such high terms to government, that the proposals of the bank were rejected; and a bill was ordered to be brought into the House of Commons, formed on the plan presented by the South-Sea company[f]. While this affair was in agitation, the stock of that company rose from one hundred and thirty to near four hundred, in consequence of the conduct of the Commons, who had rejected a motion for a clause in the bill, to fix what share in the capital stock of the company should be vested in those proprietors of the annuities who might voluntarily subscribe; or how many years' purchase in money they should receive in subscribing, at the choice of the proprietors. In the House of Lords, the bill was opposed by Lords North and Grey, Earl Cowper, the Dukes of Wharton, Buckingham, and other peers. They affirmed it was calculated for enriching a few and impoverishing a great number; that it countenanced the fraudulent and pernicious practice of stock-jobbing, which diverted the genius of the people from trade and industry: that it would give foreigners the opportunity to double and treble the vast sums they had in the public funds; and they would be tempted to realize and withdraw their capital and immense gains to other countries; so that Great Britain would be

[f] Annals. Corbet. Hist. Reg. Tindal. Lives of the Admirals.

drained of all its gold and silver; that the artificial and prodigious rise of the South-Sea stock was a dangerous bait, which might decoy many unwary people to their ruin, alluring them by a false prospect of gain to part with the fruits of their industry, to purchase imaginary riches: that the addition of above thirty millions capital would give such power to the South-Sea company as might endanger the liberties of the nation; for by their extensive interest they would be able to influence most if not all the elections of the members; and consequently overrule the resolutions of the House of Commons. Earl Cowper urged, that in all public bargains the individuals of the administration ought to take care that they should be more advantageous to the state than to private persons; but that a contrary method had been followed in the contract made with the South-Sea company; for, should the stocks be kept at the advanced price to which they had been raised by the oblique arts of stock-jobbing, either that company or its principal members would gain above thirty millions, of which no more than one-fourth part would be given towards the discharge of the national debts. He apprehended that the repurchase of annuities would meet with insuperable difficulties; and, in such case, none but a few persons who were in the secret, who had bought stocks at a low rate, and afterwards sold them at a high price, would in the end be gainers by the project. The Earl of Sunderland answered their objections. He declared that those who countenanced the scheme of the South-Sea company had nothing in view but the advantage of the nation. He owned that the managers for that company had undoubtedly a prospect of private gain, either to themselves or to their corporation; but, he said, when the scheme was accepted, neither the one nor the other could foresee that the stocks would have risen to such a height; that if they had continued as they were, the public would have had the far greater share of the ad-

vantage accruing from the scheme; and should they be kept up to the present high price, it was but reasonable that the South-Sea company should enjoy the profits procured to it by the wise management and industry of the directors, which would enable it to make large dividends, and thereby accomplish the purpose of the scheme. The bill passed without amendment or division; and on the seventh day of April received the royal assent. By this act the South-Sea company was authorized to take in, by purchase or subscription, the irredeemable debts of the nation, stated at sixteen millions five hundred forty-six thousand four hundred eighty-two pounds, seven shillings, one penny farthing, at such times as they should find it convenient before the first day of March of the ensuing year, and without any compulsion on any of the proprietors, at such rates and prices as should be agreed upon between the company and the respective proprietors. They were likewise authorized to take in all the redeemable debts, amounting to the same sum as that of the irredeemables, either by purchase, by taking subscriptions, or by paying off the creditors. For the liberty of taking in the national debts, and increasing their capital stock accordingly, the company consented that their present and to be increased annuity should be continued at five per cent. till Midsummer, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven; from thence to be reduced to four per cent. and be redeemable by Parliament. In consideration of this and other advantages expressed in the act, the company declared themselves willing to make such payments into the receipt of the exchequer as were specified for the use of the public, to be applied to the discharge of the public debts incurred before Christmas, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen. The sums they were obliged to pay for the liberty of taking in the redeemable debts, four years and a half's purchase for all long and short annuities

that should be subscribed, and one year's purchase for such long annuities as should not be subscribed, amounted on the execution of the act to about seven millions. For enabling the company to raise this sum, they were empowered to make calls for money from their members; to open books of subscription; to grant annuities redeemable by the company; to borrow money upon any contract or bill under their common seal, or on the credit of their capital stock; to convert the money demanded of their members into additional stock, without, however, making any addition to the company's annuities, payable out of the public duties. It was enacted, that out of the first monies arising from the sums paid by the company into the exchequer, such public debts, carrying interest at five per cent. incurred before the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen, founded upon any former act of Parliament, as were now redeemable, or might be redeemed before the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-two, should be discharged in the first place: that then all the remainder should be applied towards paying off so much of the capital stock of the company as should then carry an interest of five per cent. It was likewise provided, that after Midsummer, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, the company should not be paid off in any sums being less than one million at a time.

CHARTERS GRANTED TO THE ROYAL AND LONDON ASSURANCE OFFICES.

The heads of the Royal Assurance and London Assurance companies, understanding that the civil list was considerably in arrears, offered to the ministry six hundred thousand pounds towards the discharge of that debt, on condition of their obtaining the king's charter,

with a parliamentary sanction, for the establishment of their respective companies. The proposal was embraced; and the king communicated it in a message to the House of Commons, desiring their concurrence. A bill was immediately passed, enabling his majesty to grant letters of incorporation to the two companies. It soon obtained the royal assent; and, on the eleventh day of June, an end was put to the session. This was the age of interested projects, inspired by a venal spirit of adventure, the natural consequence of that avarice, fraud, and profligacy, which the monied corporations had introduced. This of all others is the most unfavourable æra for an historian. A reader of sentiment and imagination cannot be entertained or interested by a dry detail of such transactions as admit of no warmth, no colouring, no embellishment; a detail which serves only to exhibit an inanimate picture of tasteless vice and mean degeneracy.

TREATY OF ALLIANCE WITH SWEDEN.

By this time an alliance offensive and defensive was concluded at Stockholm between King George and the Queen of Sweden, by which his majesty engaged to send a fleet into the Baltic, to act against the Czar of Muscovy, in case that monarch should reject reasonable proposals of peace. Peter loudly complained of the insolent interposition of King George, alleging that he had failed in his engagements, both as Elector of Hanover and King of Great Britain. His resident at London presented a long memorial on this subject, which was answered by the British and Hanoverian ministry. These recriminations served only to inflame the difference. The czar continued to prosecute the war, and at length concluded a peace without a mediator. At the instances, however, of King George and the Regent of France, a treaty of peace was signed between the Queen

of Sweden and the King of Prussia, to whom that princess ceded the city of Stetin, the district between the rivers Oder and Pehnne, with the isles of Wollin and Usedom. On the other hand, he engaged to join the King of Great Britain in his endeavours to effect a peace between Sweden and Denmark, on condition that the Danish king should restore to Queen Ulrica that part of Pomerania which he had seized; he likewise promised to pay to that queen two millions of rix-dollars, in consideration of the cessions she had made. The treaty between Sweden and Denmark was signed at Frederickstadt in the month of June, through the mediation of the King of Great Britain, who became guarantee for the Dane's keeping possession of Sleswick. He consented, however, to restore the Upper Pomerania, the isle of Rugen, the city of Wismar, and whatever he had taken from Sweden during the war, in consideration of Sweden's renouncing the exemption from toll in the Sound, and the two Belts, and paying to Denmark six hundred thousand rix-dollars.

THE PRINCE OF HESSE ELECTED KING OF SWEDEN.

Sir John Norris had again sailed to the Baltic with a strong squadron, to give weight to the king's mediation. When he arrived at Copenhagen he wrote a letter to Prince Dolgorouki, the czar's ambassador at the court of Denmark, signifying that he and the king's envoy at Stockholm were vested with full powers to act jointly or separately in quality of plenipotentiaries, in order to effect a peace between Sweden and Muscovy, in the way of mediation. The prince answered that the czar had nothing more at heart than peace and tranquillity; and in case his Britannic majesty had any proposals to make to that prince, he hoped the admiral would excuse him

from receiving them, as they might be delivered in a much more compendious way. The English fleet immediately joined that of Sweden as auxiliaries; but they had no opportunity of acting against the Russian squadron, which secured itself in Revel. Ulrica, Queen of Sweden, and sister to Charles XII. had married the Prince of Hesse, and was extremely desirous that he should be joined with her in the administration of the regal power. She wrote a separate letter to each of the four states, desiring they would confer on him the sovereignty; and after some opposition from the nobles, he was actually elected King of Sweden. He sent one of his general officers to notify his elevation to the czar, who congratulated him upon his accession to the throne: this was the beginning of a negotiation which ended in peace, and established the tranquillity of the north. In the midst of these transactions, King George set out from England for his Hanoverian dominions; but, before he departed from Great Britain, he was reconciled to the Prince of Wales, through the endeavours of the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Walpole, who, with Earl Cowper, Lord Townshend, Mr. Methuen, and Mr. Pulteney, were received into favour, and reunited with the ministry. The Earls of Dorset and Bridgewater were promoted to the title of dukes; Lord Viscount Castleton was made an earl; Hugh Boscawen was created a baron, and Viscount Falmouth; and John Wallop, baron, and Viscount of Lymington.

EFFECTS OF THE SOUTH-SEA SCHEME.

While the king was involved at Hanover in a labyrinth of negotiations, the South-Sea scheme produced a kind of national delirium in his English dominions. Blunt, the projector, had taken the hint of his plan from the famous Mississippi scheme formed by Law,

which in the preceding year had raised such a ferment in France, and entailed ruin upon many thousand families of that kingdom. In the scheme of Law there was something substantial. An exclusive trade to Louisiana promised some advantage; though the design was defeated by the frantic eagerness of the people. Law himself became the dupe of the regent, who transferred the burden of fifteen hundred millions of the king's debts to the shoulders of the subjects; while the projector was sacrificed as the scape-goat of political iniquity. The South-Sea scheme promised no commercial advantage of any consequence. It was buoyed up by nothing but the folly and rapaciousness of individuals, which became so blind and extravagant, that Blunt, with moderate talents, was able to impose upon the whole nation, and make tools of the other directors, to serve his own purposes, and those of a few associates. When this projector found that the South-Sea stock did not rise according to his expectation upon the bill's being passed, he circulated a report that Gibraltar and Port Mahon would be exchanged for some places in Peru; by which means the English trade to the South-Sea would be protected and enlarged. This rumour, diffused by his emissaries, acted like a contagion. In five days the directors opened their books for a subscription of one million, at the rate of three hundred pounds for every hundred pounds capital. Persons of all ranks crowded to the house in such a manner, that the first subscription exceeded two millions of original stock. In a few days this stock advanced to three hundred and forty pounds; and the subscriptions were sold for double the price of the first payment. Without entering into a detail of the proceedings, or explaining the scandalous arts that were practised to enhance the value of the stock, and decoy the unwary, we shall only observe that, by the promise of prodigious dividends,

and other infamous arts, the stock was raised to one thousand; and the whole nation infected with the spirit of stock-jobbing to an astonishing degree. All distinctions of party, religion, sex, character, and circumstances, were swallowed up in this universal concern, or in some such pecuniary project. Exchange-alley was filled with a strange concourse of statesmen and clergymen, churchmen and dissenters, whigs and tories, physicians, lawyers, tradesmen, and even with multitudes of females. All other professions and employments were utterly neglected; and the people's attention wholly engrossed by this and other chimerical schemes, which were known by the denomination of bubbles. New companies started up every day, under the countenance of the prime nobility. The Prince of Wales was constituted governor of the Welsh copper company: the Duke of Chandos appeared at the head of the York-buildings company: the Duke of Bridgewater formed a third, for building houses in London and Westminster. About a hundred such schemes were projected and put in execution, to the ruin of many thousands. The sums proposed to be raised by these expedients amounted to three hundred millions sterling, which exceeded the value of all the lands in England. The nation was so intoxicated with the spirit of adventure, that people became a prey to the grossest delusion. An obscure projector, pretending to have formed a very advantageous scheme, which, however, he did not explain, published proposals for a subscription, in which he promised, that in one month the particulars of his project should be disclosed. In the mean time he declared that every person paying two guineas should be entitled to a subscription for one hundred pounds, which would produce that sum yearly. In one forenoon this adventurer received a thousand of these subscriptions; and in the evening set out for another kingdom. The king, before his departure, had

issued a proclamation against these unlawful projects; the lords justices afterwards dismissed all the petitions that had been presented for charters and patents; and the Prince of Wales renounced the company of which he had been elected governor. The South-Sea scheme raised such a flood of eager avidity and extravagant hope, that the majority of the directors were swept along with it, even contrary to their own sense and inclination; but Blunt and his accomplices still directed the stream.

The infatuation prevailed till the eighth day of September, when the stock began to fall. Then did some of the adventurers awake from their delirium. The number of the sellers daily increased. On the twenty-ninth day of the month the stock had sunk to one hundred and fifty: several eminent goldsmiths and bankers, who had lent great sums upon it, were obliged to stop payment and abscond. The ebb of this portentous tide was so violent that it bore down every thing in its way; and an infinite number of families were overwhelmed with ruin. Public credit sustained a terrible shock: the nation was thrown into a dangerous ferment; and nothing was heard but the ravings of grief, disappointment, and despair. Some principal members of the ministry were deeply concerned in these fraudulent transactions: when they saw the price of stock sinking daily, they employed all their influence with the bank to support the credit of the South-Sea company. That corporation agreed, though with reluctance, to subscribe into the stock of the South-Sea company, valued at four hundred per cent. three millions five hundred thousand pounds, which the company was to repay to the bank on Lady-day and Michaelmas of the ensuing year. This transaction was managed by Mr. Robert Walpole, who, with his own hand, wrote the minute of agreement, afterwards known by the name of the bank contract. Books were opened at the bank, to take in a subscription for the support of public credit; and con-

siderable sums of money were brought in. By this expedient the stock was raised at first, and those who contrived it seized the opportunity to realize. But the bankruptcy of goldsmiths and the sword-blade company, from the fall of South-Sea stock, occasioned such a run upon the bank, that the money was paid away faster than it could be received from the subscription. Then the South-Sea stock sunk again; and the directors of the bank, finding themselves in danger of being involved in that company's ruin, renounced the agreement, which, indeed, they were under no obligation to perform, for it was drawn up in such a manner as to be no more than the rough draft of a subsequent agreement, without due form, penalty, or clause of obligation. All expedients having failed, and the clamours of the people daily increasing, expresses were despatched to Hanover, representing the state of the nation, and pressing the king to return. He accordingly shortened his intended stay in Germany, and arrived in England on the eleventh day of November.

A SECRET COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The Parliament being assembled on the eighth day of December, his majesty expressed his concern for the unhappy turn of affairs, which had so deeply affected the public credit at home: he earnestly desired the Commons to consider of the most effectual and speedy methods to restore the national credit, and fix it upon a lasting establishment. The Lower House was too much interested in the calamity to postpone the consideration of that subject. The members seemed to lay aside all party distinctions, and vie with each other in promoting an inquiry, by which justice might be done to the injured nation. They ordered the directors to produce an account of all their proceedings. Sir Joseph

Jekyll moved, that a select committee might be appointed, to examine the particulars of this transaction. Mr. Walpole, now paymaster of the forces, observed, that such a method would protract the inquiry, while the public credit lay in a bleeding condition. He told the House he had formed a scheme for restoring public credit; but before he would communicate this plan, desired to know whether the subscriptions of public debts and incumbrances, money subscriptions, and other contracts made with the South-Sea company, should remain in the present state. After a warm debate, the question was carried in the affirmative, with this addition, "Unless altered for the ease and relief of the proprietors, by a general court of the South-Sea company, or set aside in due course of law." Next day Walpole produced his scheme, to engraft nine millions of South-Sea stock into the bank of England, and the like sum into the East India company, on certain conditions. The House voted, that proposals should be received from the bank, and those two companies, on this subject. These being delivered, the Commons resolved, that an engrossment of nine millions of the capital stock of the South-Sea company, into the capital stock of the bank and East India company, as proposed by these companies, would contribute very much to the restoring public credit. A bill upon this resolution was brought in, passed through both Houses, and received the royal assent. Another bill was enacted into a law, for restraining the sub-governor, deputy-governor, directors, treasurer, under-treasurer, cashier, secretary, and accountants, of the South-Sea company, from quitting the kingdom, till the end of the next session of Parliament; and for discovering their estates and effects, so as to prevent them from being transported or alienated. A committee of secrecy was chosen by ballot, to examine all the books, papers, and proceedings, relating to the execution of the South-Sea act.

The Lords were not less eager than the Commons to prosecute this inquiry, though divers members in both Houses were deeply involved in the guilt and infamy of the transaction. Earl Stanhope said the estates of the criminals, whether directors or not directors, ought to be confiscated, to repair the public losses. He was seconded by Lord Carteret, and even by the Earl of Sunderland. The Duke of Wharton declared he would give up the best friend he had, should he be found guilty. He observed, that the nation had been plundered in a most flagrant and notorious manner; therefore, they ought to find out and punish the offenders severely without respect to persons. The sub and deputy-governors, the directors and officers of the South-Sea company, were examined at the bar of the House. Then a bill was brought in, disabling them to enjoy any office in that company, or in the East India company, or in the bank of England. Three brokers were likewise examined, and made great discoveries. Knight, the treasurer of the South-Sea company, who had been intrusted with the secrets of the whole affair, thought proper to withdraw himself from the kingdom. A proclamation was issued to apprehend him; and another for preventing any of the directors from escaping out of the kingdom. At this period the secret committee informed the House of Commons, that they had already discovered a train of the deepest villany and fraud that hell ever contrived to ruin a nation, which in due time they would lay before the House: in the mean while they thought it highly necessary to secure the persons of some of the directors and principal officers of the South-Sea company, as well as to seize their papers. An order was made to secure the books and papers of Knight, Surman, and Turner. The persons of Sir George Caswell, Sir John Blunt, Sir John Lambert, Sir John Fellowes, and Mr. Grigsby were taken into custody. Sir Theodore Jansen, Mr. Sawbridge, Sir

Robert Chaplain, and Mr. Eyles, were expelled the House, and apprehended. Mr. Aislabie resigned his employments of chancellor of the exchequer and lord of the treasury; and orders were given to remove all directors of the South-Sea company from the places they possessed under the government.

The Lords, in the course of their examination, discovered that large portions of South-Sea stock had been given to several persons in the administration and House of Commons, for promoting the passing of the South-Sea act. The House immediately resolved, that this practice was a notorious and most dangerous species of corruption: that the directors of the South-Sea company having ordered great quantities of their stock to be bought for the service of the company, when it was at a very high price, and on pretence of keeping up the price of stock; and at the same time several of the directors, and other officers belonging to the company, having, in a clandestine manner, sold their own stock to the company, such directors and officers were guilty of a notorious fraud and breach of trust, and their so doing was one great cause of the unhappy turn of affairs, that had so much affected public credit. Many other resolutions were taken against that infamous confederacy, in which, however, the innocent were confounded with the guilty. Sir John Blunt refusing to answer certain interrogations, a violent debate arose about the manner in which he should be treated. The Duke of Wharton observed, that the government of the best princes was sometimes rendered intolerable to their subjects by bad ministers: he mentioned the example of Sejanus, who had made a division in the imperial family, and rendered the reign of Claudius hateful to the Romans. Earl Stanhope, conceiving this reflection was aimed at him, was seized with a transport of anger. He undertook to vindicate the ministry; and spoke with such vehemence as produced a violent headache, which

obliged him to retire. He underwent proper evacuations, and seemed to recover; but next day, in the evening, he became lethargic, and being seized with a suffocation, instantly expired. The king deeply regretted the loss of this favourite minister, which was the more unfortunate as it happened at such a critical conjuncture; and he appointed Lord Townshend to fill his place of secretary. Earl Stanhope was survived but a few days by the other secretary, Mr. Craggs, who died of the small-pox on the sixteenth day of February. Knight, the cashier of the South-Sea company, being seized at Tirlemont, by the vigilance of Mr. Gandot, secretary to Mr. Leathes, the British resident at Brussels, was confined in the citadel of Antwerp. Application was made to the court of Vienna, that he should be delivered to such persons as might be appointed to receive him; but he had found means to interest the states of Brabant in his behalf. They insisted upon their privilege granted by charter, that no person apprehended for any crime in Brabant should be tried in any other country. The House of Commons expressed their indignation at this frivolous pretence: instances were renewed to the emperor: and in the mean time Knight escaped from the citadel of Antwerp.

THE ESTATES OF THE DIRECTORS OF THE SOUTH-SEA COMPANY CONFISCATED.

The committee of secrecy found that, before any subscription could be made, a fictitious stock of five hundred and seventy-four thousand pounds had been disposed of by the directors, to facilitate the passing the bill. Great part of this was distributed among the Earl of Sunderland, Mr. Craggs, senior, the Duchess of Kendal, the Countess of Platen and her two nieces, Mr. Secretary Craggs, and Mr. Aislabie, chancellor of the exchequer. In consequence of the committee's report,

the House came to several severe though just resolutions against the directors and officers of the South-Sea company; and a bill was prepared for the relief of the unhappy sufferers. Mr. Stanhope, one of the secretaries of the treasury, charged in the report with having large quantities of stock and subscriptions, desired that he might have an opportunity to clear himself. His request was granted; and the affair being discussed, he was cleared by a majority of three voices. Fifty thousand pounds in stock had been taken by Knight for the use of the Earl of Sunderland. Great part of the House entered eagerly into this inquiry; and a violent dispute ensued. The whole strength of the ministry was mustered in his defence. The majority declared him innocent: the nation in general was of another opinion. He resigned his place of first commissioner in the treasury, which was bestowed upon Mr. Robert Walpole; but he still retained the confidence of his master. With respect to Mr. Aislabie, the evidence appeared so strong against him, that the Commons resolved, he had promoted the destructive execution of the South-Sea scheme, with a view to his own exorbitant profit, and combined with the directors in their pernicious practices, to the ruin of public credit. He was expelled the House, and committed to the Tower. Mr. Cragg, senior, died of the lethargy, before he underwent the censure of the House. Nevertheless, they resolved that he was a notorious accomplice with Robert Knight, and some of the directors, in carrying on their scandalous practices; and therefore, that all the estate of which he was possessed, from the first day of December in the preceding year, should be applied towards the relief of the unhappy sufferers in the South-Sea company[g]. The directors, in obedience to the order of the House, delivered in inventories of their estates, which were confis-

[g] Oldmixon. Annals. Historical Register. Political State. Debates in Parliament. Tindal.

cated by act of Parliament, towards making good the damages sustained by the company, after a certain allowance was deducted for each, according to his conduct and circumstances.

The delinquents being thus punished by the forfeiture of their fortunes, the House converted their attention to means for repairing the mischiefs which the scheme had produced. This was a very difficult task, on account of the contending interests of those engaged in the South-Sea company, which rendered it impossible to relieve some but at the expense of others. Several wholesome resolutions were taken, and presented with an address to the king, explaining the motives of their proceedings. On the twenty-ninth day of July, the Parliament was prorogued for two days only. Then his majesty, going to the House of Peers, declared that he had called them together again so suddenly, that they might resume the consideration of the state of public credit. The Commons immediately prepared a bill upon the resolutions they had taken. The whole capital stock, at the end of the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty, amounted to about thirty-seven millions eight hundred thousand pounds. The stock allotted to all the proprietors did not exceed twenty-four millions five hundred thousand pounds: the remaining capital stock belonged to the company in their corporate capacity. It was the profit arising from the execution of the South-Sea scheme; and out of this the bill enacted, that seven millions should be paid to the public. The present act likewise directed several additions to be made to the stock of the proprietors, out of that possessed by the company in their own right; it made a particular distribution of stock, amounting to two millions two hundred thousand pounds; and upon remitting five millions of the seven to be paid to the public, annihilated two millions of their capital. It was enacted that, after these distributions, the remaining

capital stock should be divided among all the proprietors. This dividend amounted to thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight-pence per cent. and deprived the company of eight millions nine hundred thousand pounds. They had lent above eleven millions on stock unredeemed; of which the Parliament discharged all the debtors, upon their paying ten per cent. Upon this article the company's loss exceeded six millions nine hundred thousand pounds; for many debtors refused to make any payment. The proprietors of the stock loudly complained of their being deprived of two millions; and the Parliament in the sequel revived that sum which had been annihilated. While this affair was in agitation, petitions from counties, cities, and boroughs, in all parts of the kingdom, were presented to the House, crying for justice against the villany of the directors. Pamphlets and papers were daily published on the same subject; so that the whole nation was exasperated to the highest pitch of resentment. Nevertheless, by the wise and vigorous resolutions of the Parliament, the South-Sea company was soon in a condition to fulfil their engagements with the public; the ferment of the people subsided; and the credit of the nation was restored.

CHAPTER XIV.

Bill against Atheism and Immorality postponed.—Session closed.—Alliance between Great Britain, France, and Spain.—Plague at Marseilles.—Debates in the House of Lords about Mr. Law the Projector.—Sentiments of some Lords touching the War with Spain.—Petition of the Quakers.—The Parliament dissolved.—Rumours of a Conspiracy.—The Bishop of Rochester is committed to the Tower.—New Parliament.—Declaration of the Pretender.—Report of the Secret Committee.—Bill of Pains and Penalties against the Bishop of Rochester.—Who is deprived, and driven into perpetual Exile.—Proceedings against those concerned in the Lottery at Harburgh.—Affairs of the Continent.—Clamour in Ireland on Account of Wood's Coinage.—Death of the Duke of Orleans.—An Act for lessening the public Debts.—Philip, King of Spain, abdicates the Throne.—Abuses in Chancery.—Trial of the Earl of Macclesfield.—Debates about the Debts of the Civil List.—A Bill in Favour of the late Lord Bolingbroke.—Treaty of Alliance between the Courts of Vienna and Madrid.—Treaty of Hanover.—Approved in Parliament.—Riots in Scotland on Account of the Malt-tax.—A small Squadron sent to the Baltic.—Admiral Hosier's Expedition to the West Indies.—Disgrace of the Duke de Ripperda.—Substance of the King's Speech to Parliament.—Debate in the House of Lords upon the approaching Rupture with the Emperor and Spain.—Memorial of Mr. Palms, the Imperial Resident at London.—Conventions with Sweden and Hesse-Cassel.—Vote of Credit.—Siege of Gibraltar by the Spaniards.—Preliminaries of Peace.—Death and Character of George I. King of Great Britain.

BILL AGAINST ATHEISM AND IMMORALITY POSTPONED.

During the infatuation produced by this infamous scheme, luxury, vice, and profligacy, increased to a shocking degree of extravagance. The adventurers, intoxicated by their imaginary wealth, pampered themselves with the rarest dainties, and the most expensive wines that could be imported: they purchased the most sumptuous furniture, equipage, and apparel, though

without taste or discernment: they indulged their criminal passions to the most scandalous excess: their discourse was the language of pride, insolence, and the most ridiculous ostentation: they affected to scoff at religion and morality; and even to set heaven at defiance. The Earl of Nottingham complained in the House of Lords of the growth of atheism, profaneness, and immorality; and a bill was brought in for suppressing blasphemy and profaneness. It contained several articles seemingly calculated to restrain the liberty granted to nonconformists by the laws of the last session; for that reason it met with violent opposition. It was supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Nottingham, Lords Bathurst and Trevor, the Bishops of London, Winchester, and Lichfield and Coventry. One of these said, he verily believed the present calamity occasioned by the South-Sea project was a judgment of God on the blasphemy and profaneness of the nation. Lord Onslow replied, "That noble peer must then be a great sinner, for he has lost considerably by the South-Sea scheme." The Duke of Wharton, who had rendered himself famous by his wit and profligacy, said he was not insensible of the common opinion of the town concerning himself, and gladly seized this opportunity of vindicating his character, by declaring he was far from being a patron of blasphemy, or an enemy to religion. On the other hand, he could not but oppose the bill, because he conceived it to be repugnant to the holy scripture. Then pulling an old family bible from his pocket, he quoted several passages from the epistles of St. Peter and St. Paul; concluding with a desire that the bill might be thrown out. The Earl of Peterborough declared, that though he was for a parliamentary king, yet he did not desire to have a parliamentary God, or a parliamentary religion; and should the House declare for one of this kind, he would go to Rome, and endeavour to be chosen a cardinal; for he had rather sit

in the conclave than with their lordships upon those terms. After a vehement debate, the bill was postponed to a long day, by a considerable majority.

The season was far advanced before the supplies were granted; and at length they were not voted with that cheerfulness and good humour which the majority had hitherto manifested on such occasions. On the sixteenth day of June, the king sent a message to the House of Commons, importing, that he had agreed to pay a subsidy to the crown of Sweden, and he hoped they would enable him to make good his engagements. The leaders of the opposition took fire at this intimation. They desired to know whether this subsidy, amounting to seventy-two thousand pounds, was to be paid to Sweden over and above the expense of maintaining a strong squadron in the Baltic. Lord Molesworth observed that, by our late conduct, we were become the allies of the whole world, and the bubbles of all our allies; for we were obliged to pay them well for their assistance. He affirmed, that the treaties which had been made with Sweden, at different times, were inconsistent and contradictory: that our late engagements with that crown were contrary to the treaties subsisting with Denmark, and directly opposite to the measures formerly concerted with the Czar of Muscovy. He said, that in order to engage the czar to yield what he had gained in the course of the war, the King of Prussia ought to give up Stetin, and the Elector of Hanover restore Bremen and Verden: that, after all, England had no business to intermeddle with the affairs of the empire: that we reaped little or no advantage by our trade to the Baltic, but that of procuring naval stores: he owned that hemp was a very necessary commodity, particularly at this juncture; but he insisted, that if due encouragement were given to some of our plantations in America, we might be supplied from thence at a much cheaper rate than from Sweden and

Norway. Notwithstanding these arguments, the Swedish supply was granted; and, in about three weeks, their complaisance was put to another proof. They were given to understand, by a second message, that the debts of the civil list amounted to five hundred and fifty thousand pounds; and his majesty hoped they would empower him to raise that sum upon the revenue, as he proposed it should be replaced in the civil list, and reimbursed by a deduction from the salaries and wages of all officers, as well as from the pensions and other payments from the crown. A bill was prepared for this purpose, though not without warm opposition; and, at the same time, an act passed for a general pardon. On the tenth day of August, the king closed the session with a speech, in which he expressed his concern for the sufferings of the innocent, and a just indignation against the guilty, with respect to the South-Sea scheme. These professions were judged necessary to clear his own character, which had incurred the suspicion of some people, who whispered that he was not altogether free from connexions with the projectors of that design; that the emperor had, at his desire, refused to deliver up Knight; and that he favoured the directors and their accomplices.

ALLIANCE BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND SPAIN.

Lords Townshend and Carteret were now appointed secretaries of state; and the Earl of Ilay was vested with the office of lord privy-seal of Scotland. In June the treaty of peace between Great Britain and Spain was signed at Madrid. The contracting parties engaged to restore mutually all the effects seized and confiscated on both sides. In particular, the King of England promised to restore all the ships of the Spanish fleet which had been taken in the Mediterranean, or the

value of them, if they were sold. He likewise promised, in a secret article, that he would no longer interfere in the affairs of Italy; and the King of Spain made an absolute cession of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon. At the same time, a defensive alliance was concluded between Great Britain, France, and Spain. All remaining difficulties were referred to a congress at Cambray, where they hoped to consolidate a general peace, by determining all differences between the emperor and his catholic majesty. In the mean time, the powers of Great Britain, France, and Spain, engaged, by virtue of the present treaty, to grant to the Duke of Parma a particular protection for the preservation of his territories and rights, and for the support of his dignity. It was also stipulated, that the States-General should be invited to accede to this alliance. The congress at Cambray was opened; but the demands on both sides were so high that it proved ineffectual. In the mean time, the peace between Russia and Sweden was concluded, on condition that the czar should retain Livonia, Ingria, Estonia, part of Carelia, and of the territory of Wyburg, Riga, Revel, and Narva, in consideration of his restoring part of Finland, and paying two millions of rix-dollars to the King of Sweden. The personal animosity subsisting between King George and the czar seemed to increase. Bastagif, the Russian resident at London, having presented a memorial that contained some unguarded expressions, was ordered to quit the kingdom in a fortnight. The czar published a declaration at Petersburgh, complaining of this outrage, which, he said, ought naturally to have engaged him to use reprisals; but, as he perceived it was done without any regard to the concerns of England, and only in favour of the Hanoverian interest, he was unwilling that the English nation should suffer for a piece of injustice in which they had no share. He, therefore, granted to them all manner of security, and free liberty

to trade in all his dominions. To finish this strange tissue of negotiations, King George concluded a treaty with the Moors of Africa, against which the Spaniards loudly exclaimed.

PLAGUE AT MARSEILLES.

In the course of this year, Pope Clement XI. died; and the Princess of Wales was delivered of a prince, baptized by the name of William Augustus, the late Duke of Cumberland. A dreadful plague raging at Marseilles, a proclamation was published, forbidding any person to come into England, from any part of France between the Bay of Biscay and Dunkirk, without certificates of health. Other precautions were taken to guard against contagion. An act of Parliament had passed in the preceding session, for the prevention of infection, by building pest-houses, to which all infected persons, and all persons of an infected family, should be conveyed; and, by drawing trenches and lines round any city, town, or place infected. The king, in his speech at opening the session of Parliament, on the nineteenth day of October, intimated the pacification of the north, by the conclusion of the treaty between Muscovy and Sweden. He desired the House of Commons to consider of means for easing the duties upon the imported commodities used in the manufactures of the kingdom. He observed, that the nation might be supplied with naval stores from our own colonies in North America; and that their being employed in this useful and advantageous branch of commerce would divert them from setting up manufactures which directly interfered with those of Great Britain. He expressed a desire that, with respect to the supplies, his people might reap some immediate benefit from the present circumstances of affairs abroad; and he earnestly recommended to their consideration

means for preventing the plague, particularly by providing against the practice of smuggling.

DEBATES IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS ABOUT MR. LAW THE PROJECTOR.

One of the first objects that attracted the attention of the Upper House was the case of John Law, the famous projector. The resentment of the people on account of his Mississippi scheme had obliged him to leave France. He retired to Italy, and was said to have visited the pretender at Rome. From thence he repaired to Hanover, and returned to England from the Baltic, in the fleet commanded by Sir John Norris. The king favoured him with a private audience: he kept open house, and was visited by great numbers of persons of the first quality. Earl Coningsby represented in the House of Lords, that he could not but entertain some jealousy of a person who had done so much mischief in a neighbouring kingdom, who, being immensely rich, might do a great deal more hurt here, by tampering with those who were grown desperate, in consequence of being involved in the calamity occasioned by the fatal imitation of his pernicious projects. He observed, that this person was the more dangerous, as he had renounced his natural affection to his country, his allegiance to his lawful sovereign, and his religion, by turning Roman catholic. Lord Carteret replied, that Mr. Law had, many years ago, the misfortune to kill a gentleman in a duel; but, having at last received the benefit of the king's clemency, and the appeal lodged by the relations of the deceased being taken off, he was come over to plead his majesty's pardon. He said there was no law to keep an Englishman out of his country; and, as Mr. Law was a subject of Great Britain, it was not even in the king's power to hinder him from coming over. After some dispute, the subject was dropped,

and this great projector pleaded his pardon in the King's Bench, according to the usual form.

SENTIMENTS OF SOME LORDS TOUCHING THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

The ministry had by this time secured such a majority in both Houses, as enabled them to carry any point without the least difficulty. Some chiefs of the opposition they had brought over to their measures, and among the rest Lord Harcourt, who was created a viscount, and gratified with a pension of four thousand pounds. Nevertheless they could not shut the mouths of the minority, who still preserved the privilege of complaining. Great debates were occasioned by the navy-debt, which was increased to one million seven hundred thousand pounds. Some members in both Houses affirmed that such extraordinary expense could not be for the immediate service of Great Britain; but, in all probability, for the preservation of foreign acquisitions. The ministers answered, that near two-thirds of the navy-debts were contracted in the late reign; and the Parliament acquiesced in this declaration; but in reality, the navy-debt had been unnecessarily increased, by keeping seamen in pay during the winter, and sending fleets to the Mediterranean and Baltic, in order to support the interests of Germany. The Duke of Wharton moved that the treaty with Spain might be laid before the House. The Earl of Sunderland said it contained a secret article which the King of Spain desired might not be made public, until after the treaty of Cambray should be discussed. The question was put, and the duke's motion rejected. The Earl of Strafford asserted, that as the war with Spain had been undertaken without necessity or just provocation, so the peace was concluded without any benefit or advantage: that, contrary to the law of nations, the Spanish

fleet had been attacked without any declaration of war; even while a British minister and a secretary of state were treating amicably at Madrid: that the war was neither just nor politic, since it interrupted one of the most valuable branches of the English commerce, at a time when the nation groaned under the pressure of heavy debts, incurred by the former long expensive war. He, therefore, moved for an address to his majesty, desiring that the instructions given to Sir George Byng, now Lord Torrington, should be laid before the House. This motion being likewise, upon the question, rejected, a protest was entered. They voted an address, however, to know in what manner the king had disposed of the ships taken from the Spaniards. Disputes arose from the bill to prevent infection. Earl Cowper represented, that the removal of persons to a lazaret, or pest-house, by order of the government, and the drawing lines and trenches round places infected, were powers unknown to the British constitution; inconsistent with the lenity of a free government, such as could never be wisely or usefully put in practice; the more odious, because copied from the arbitrary government of France; and impracticable, except by military compulsion. These obnoxious clauses were accordingly repealed, though not without great opposition. Indeed, nothing can be more absurd than a constitution that will not admit of just and necessary laws and regulations to prevent the dire consequences of the worst of all calamities. Such restrictions, instead of favouring the lenity of a free government, would be the most cruel imposition that could be laid on a free people, as it would act in diametrical opposition to the great principle of society, which is the preservation of the individual.

PETITION OF THE QUAKERS.

The quakers having presented a petition to the House of Commons, praying that a bill might be brought in for omitting, in their solemn affirmation, the words "In the presence of Almighty God," the House complied with their request; but the bill gave rise to a very warm debate among the Peers. Dr. Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, said he did not know why such a distinguished mark of indulgence should be allowed to a set of people who were hardly Christians. He was supported by the Archbishop of York, the Earl of Strafford, and Lords North and Grey. A petition was presented against the bill by the London clergy, who expressed a serious concern lest the minds of good men should be grieved and wounded, and the enemies of Christianity triumph, when they should see such condescensions made by a christian legislature, to a set of men who renounce the divine institutions of Christ, particularly that by which the faithful are initiated into his religion, and denominated Christians. The petition, though presented by the Archbishop of York, was branded by the ministry as a seditious libel, and rejected by the majority. Then, upon a motion by the Earl of Sunderland, the House resolved that such lords as might enter protestations with reasons should do it before two o'clock on the next sitting day, and sign them before the House rises. The supplies being granted, and the business of the session despatched as the court was pleased to dictate, on the seventh day of March the Parliament was prorogued. In a few days it was dissolved, and another convoked by proclamation[a]. In the election of members for the new Parliament, the ministry exerted itself with such success, as returned a

[a] Annals. Historical Register. Debates in Parliament. Political State. Tindal.

great majority in the House of Commons, extremely well adapted for all the purposes of an administration [b].

In the beginning of May, the king is said to have received from the Duke of Orleans full and certain information of a fresh conspiracy formed against his person and government. A camp was immediately formed in Hyde-park. All military officers were ordered to repair to their respective commands. Lieutenant-General Macartney was despatched to Ireland to bring over some troops from that kingdom. Some suspected persons were apprehended in Scotland: the states of Holland were desired to have their auxiliary or guarantee troops in readiness to be embarked; and Colonel Churchill was sent to the court of France with a private commission. The apprehension raised by this supposed plot affected the public credit. South-Sea stock began to fall; and crowds of people called in their money from the bank. Lord Townshend wrote a letter to the mayor of London, by the king's command, signifying his majesty's having received unquestionable advices, that several of his subjects had entered into a wicked conspiracy, in concert with traitors abroad, for raising a rebellion in favour of a popish pretender; but that he was firmly assured the authors of it neither were nor would be supported by any foreign power. This letter was immediately answered by an affectionate address from the court of aldermen; and the example of London was followed by many other cities and boroughs. The king had determined to visit Hanover, and actually settled a regency, in which the

[b] The Earl of Sunderland died in April, after having incurred a great load of popular odium, from his supposed connexions with the directors of the South-Sea company. He was a minister of abilities, but violent, impetuous, and headstrong. His death was soon followed by that of his father-in-law, the great Duke of Marlborough, whose faculties had been for some time greatly impaired. He was interred in Westminster-abbey with such profusion of funeral pomp, as evinced the pride and ostentation, much more than the taste and concern, of those who directed his obsequies. He was succeeded as master of the ordnance, and colonel of the first regiment of foot guards, by Earl Cadogan.

Prince of Wales was not included; but now this intended journey was laid aside: the court was removed to Kensington, and the prince retired to Richmond. The Bishop of Rochester having been seized, with his papers, was examined before a committee of the council, who committed him to the Tower for high-treason. The Earl of Orrery, Lords North and Grey, Mr. Cockran, and Mr. Smith, from Scotland, and Mr. Christopher Layer, a young gentleman of the Temple, were confined in the same place. Mr. George Kelly, an Irish clergyman, Mr. Robert Cotton of Huntingdonshire, Mr. Bingley, Mr. Fleetwood, Neynoe, an Irish priest, and several persons, were taken into custody; and Mr. Shippen's house was searched. After Bishop Atterbury had remained a fortnight in the Tower, Sir Constantine Phipps presented a petition to the court at the Old Bailey, in the name of Mrs. Morris, that prelate's daughter, praying, that, in consideration of the bishop's ill state of health, he might be either brought to a speedy trial, bailed, or discharged; but this was overruled. The churchmen through the whole kingdom were filled with indignation at the confinement of a bishop, which they said was an outrage upon the church of England and the episcopal order. Far from concealing their sentiments on this subject, the clergy ventured to offer up public prayers for his health, in almost all the churches and chapels of London and Westminster. In the mean time the king, attended by the Prince of Wales, made a summer progress through the western counties.

NEW PARLIAMENT.

The new Parliament being assembled on the ninth day of October, his majesty made them acquainted with the nature of the conspiracy. He said the conspirators had, by their emissaries, made the strongest instances

for succours from foreign powers; but were disappointed in their expectations. That, nevertheless, confiding in their numbers, they had resolved once more upon their own strength, to attempt the subversion of his government. He said they had provided considerable sums of money: engaged great numbers of officers from abroad, secured large quantities of arms and ammunition; and had not the plot been timely discovered, the whole nation, and particularly the city of London, would have been involved in blood and confusion. He expatiated upon the mildness and integrity of his own government; and inveighed against the ingratitude, the implacability, and madness of the disaffected, concluding with an assurance, that he would steadily adhere to the constitution in church and state, and continue to make the laws of the realm the rule and measure of all his actions. Such addresses were presented by both Houses as the fears and attachment of the majority may be supposed to have dictated on such an occasion. A bill was brought into the House of Lords for suspending the habeas corpus act for a whole year; but they were far from being unanimous in agreeing to such an unusual length of time. By this suspension they, in effect, vested the ministry with a dictatorial power over the liberties of the people.

DECLARATION OF THE PRETENDER.

The opposition in the House of Commons was so violent, that Mr. Robert Walpole found it necessary to alarm their apprehensions by a dreadful story of a design to seize the bank and exchequer, and to proclaim the pretender on the Royal Exchange. Their passions being inflamed by this ridiculous artifice, they passed the bill, which immediately received the royal assent. The Duke of Norfolk being brought from Bath, was examined before the council, and committed to the

Tower, on suspicion of high-treason. On the sixteenth day of November, the king sent to the House of Peers the original and printed copy of a declaration signed by the pretender. It was dated at Lucca, on the twentieth day of September, in the present year, and appeared to be a proposal addressed to the subjects of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as to all foreign princes and states. In this paper, the Chevalier de St. George, having mentioned the late violation of the freedom of elections, conspiracies invented to give a colour to new oppressions, infamous informers, and the state of proscription in which he supposed every honest man to be, very gravely proposed, that if King George would relinquish to him the throne of Great Britain, he would, in return, bestow upon him the title of king in his native dominions, and invite all other states to confirm it: he likewise promised to leave to King George his succession to the British dominions secure, whenever, in due course, his natural right should take place. The Lords unanimously resolved, that this declaration was a false, insolent, and traitorous libel; and ordered it to be burned at the Royal Exchange. The Commons concurred in these resolutions. Both Houses joined in an address, expressing their utmost astonishment and indignation at the surprising insolence of the pretender; and assuring his majesty, they were determined to support his title to the crown with their lives and fortunes. The Commons prepared a bill for raising one hundred thousand pounds upon the real and personal estates of all Papists, or persons educated in the popish religion, towards defraying the expenses occasioned by the late rebellion and disorders. This bill, though strenuously opposed by some moderate members as a species of persecution, was sent up to the House of Lords, together with another, obliging all persons, being Papists, in Scotland, and all persons in Great Britain refusing or neglecting to take the oaths appointed for the security

of the king's person and government, to register their names and real estates. Both these bills passed through the Upper House without amendments, and received the royal sanction.

REPORT OF THE SECRET COMMITTEE.

Mr. Layer, being brought to his trial at the King's Bench, on the twenty-first day of November, was convicted of having inlisted men for the pretender's service, in order to stir up a rebellion, and received sentence of death. He was reprieved for some time, and examined by a committee of the House of Commons; but he either could not, or would not, discover the particulars of the conspiracy, so that he suffered death at Tyburn, and his head was fixed up at Temple Bar. Mr. Pulteney, chairman of the Committee, reported to the House, that, from the examination of Layer and others, a design had been formed by persons of figure and distinction at home, in conjunction with traitors abroad, for placing the pretender on the throne of these realms: that their first intention was to procure a body of foreign troops to invade the kingdom at the time of the late elections; but that the conspirators being disappointed in this expectation, resolved to make an attempt at the time that it was generally believed the king intended to go to Hanover, by the help of such officers and soldiers as could pass into England unobserved, from abroad, under the command of the late Duke of Ormond, who was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms, provided in Spain for that purpose; at which time the Tower was to have been seized. That this scheme being also defeated by the vigilance of the government, they deferred their enterprise till the breaking up of the camp; and, in the mean time, employed their agents to corrupt and seduce the officers and soldiers of the army: that it appeared from several

letters and circumstances, that the late Duke of Ormond, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Orrery, Lords North and Grey, and the Bishop of Rochester, were concerned in this conspiracy; that their acting agents were Christopher Layer and John Plunket, who travelled together to Rome; Dennis Kelly, George Kelly, and Thomas Carte, nonjuring clergymen, Neynoe, the Irish priest, who by this time was drowned in the river Thames, in attempting to make his escape from the messenger's house, Mrs. Spilman, alias Yallop, and John Sample.

BILL OF PAINS AND PENALTIES AGAINST THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

This pretended conspiracy, in all likelihood, extended no farther than the first rudiments of a design that was never digested into any regular form; otherwise the persons said to be concerned in it must have been infatuated to a degree of frenzy; for they were charged with having made application to the Regent of France, who was well known to be intimately connected with the King of Great Britain. The House of Commons, however, resolved, that it was a detestable and horrid conspiracy for raising a rebellion, seizing the Tower and the city of London, laying violent hands upon the persons of his most sacred majesty and the Prince of Wales, in order to subvert our present happy establishment in church and state, by placing a popish pretender upon the throne; that it was formed and carried on by persons of figure and distinction, and their agents and instruments, in conjunction with traitors abroad. Bills were brought in, and passed, for inflicting pains and penalties against John Plunket and George Kelly, who were by these acts to be kept in close custody during his majesty's pleasure, in any prison in Great Britain; and that they should not attempt to escape on pain of death, to be inflicted upon them and their assistants.

Mr. Yonge made a motion for a bill of the same nature against the Bishop of Rochester. This was immediately brought into the House, though Sir William Wyndham affirmed there was no evidence against him but conjectures and hearsay[i]. The bishop wrote a letter to the speaker, importing, that though conscious of his own innocence, he should decline giving the House any trouble that day, contenting himself with the opportunity of making his defence before another of which he had the honour to be a member. Counsel being heard for the bill, it was committed to a grand committee on the sixth day of April, when the majority of the tory members quitted the House. It was then moved, that the bishop should be deprived of his office and benefice, and banished the kingdom for ever. Mr. Lawson and Mr. Oglethorpe spoke in his favour.

The bill being passed and sent up to the Lords, the bishop was brought to his trial before them on the ninth of May. Himself and his counsel having been heard, the Lords proceeded to consider the articles of the bill. When they read it a third time, a motion was made to pass it, and then a long and warm debate ensued. Earl Paulet demonstrated the danger and injustice of swerving in such an extraordinary manner from the fixed rules of evidence. The Duke of Wharton having summed up the depositions, and proved the insufficiency of them, concluded with saying, that, let the consequences be what they would, he hoped such a hellish stain would never sully the lustre and glory of that illustrious House, as to condemn a man without the least evidence. Lord Bathurst spoke against the bill with equal strength and eloquence. He said, if such extraordinary proceedings were countenanced, he saw nothing remaining for him and others to do, but to retire to their country-houses, and there, if possible,

[i] Annals. Tindal. Debates in Parliament. Political State.

quietly enjoy their estates within their own families, since the least correspondence, the least intercepted letter, might be made criminal. He observed, that Cardinal Mazarin boasted, that if he had but two lines of any man's writing, he could, by means of a few circumstances, attested by witnesses, deprive him of his life at his pleasure. Turning to the bench of bishops, who had been generally unfavourable to Dr. Atterbury, he said he could hardly account for the inveterate hatred and malice some persons bore the learned and ingenious Bishop of Rochester, unless they were intoxicated with the infatuation of some savage Indians, who believed they inherited not only the spoils, but even the abilities of any great enemy whom they had killed in battle. The bill was supported by the Duke of Argyle, the Earl of Seafield, and Lord Lechmere, which last was answered by Earl Cowper. This nobleman observed that the strongest argument urged in behalf of the bill was necessity: but that, for his part, he saw no necessity that could justify such unprecedented and such dangerous proceedings, as the conspiracy had above twelve months before been happily discovered, and the effects of it prevented: that besides the intrinsic weight and strength of the government, the hands of those at the helm had been still further fortified by the suspension of the habeas corpus act, and the additional troops which had been raised. He said the known rules of evidence, as laid down at first, and established by the law of the land, were the birthright of every subject in the nation, and ought to be constantly observed, not only in the inferior courts of judicature, but also in both Houses of Parliament, till altered by the legislature; that the admitting of the precarious and uncertain evidence of the clerks of the post-office was a very dangerous precedent. In former times (said he) it was thought very grievous that in capital cases a man should be affected by similitude of hands; but here the case is

much worse, since it is allowed that the clerks of the post-office should carry the similitude of hands four months in their minds. He applauded the bishop's noble deportment, in declining to answer before the House of Commons, whose proceedings in this unprecedented manner, against a lord of Parliament, was such an encroachment on the prerogative of the peerage, that if they submitted to it, by passing the bill, they might be termed the last of British peers for giving up their ancient privileges. The other party were not so solicitous about answering reasons, as eager to put the question, when the bill passed, and a protest was entered. By this act the bishop was deprived of all offices, benefices, and dignities, and rendered incapable of enjoying any for the future: he was banished the realm, and subjected to the pains of death in case he should return, as were all persons who should correspond with him during his exile. Dr. Friend, the celebrated physician, who was a member of the House of Commons, and had exerted himself strenuously in behalf of the bishop, was now taken into custody, on suspicion of treasonable practices.

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THOSE CONCERNED IN THE LOTTERY AT HARBURGH.

The next object that excited the resentment of the Commons was the scheme of a lottery, to be drawn at Harburgh, in the king's German dominions. The House appointed a committee to inquire into this and other lotteries at that time on foot in London. The scheme was published, on pretence of raising a subscription for maintaining a trade between Great Britain and the king's territories on the Elbe; but it was a mysterious scene of iniquity, which the committee, with all their penetration, could not fully discover. They reported, however, that it was an infamous, fraudulent

undertaking, whereby many unwary persons had been drawn in, to their great loss: that the manner of carrying it on had been a manifest violation of the laws of the kingdom: that the managers and agents of this lottery had, without any authority for so doing, made use of his majesty's royal name, thereby to give countenance to the infamous project, and induce his majesty's subjects to engage or be concerned therein. A bill was brought in to suppress this lottery, and to oblige the managers of it to make restitution of the money they had received from the contributors. At the same time the House resolved, that John Lord Viscount Barrington had been notoriously guilty of promoting, abetting, and carrying on that fraudulent undertaking; for which offence he should be expelled the House. The court of Vienna having erected an East India company at Ostend, upon a scheme formed by one Colebrook, an English merchant, Sir Nathaniel Gould represented to the House of Commons the great detriment which the English East India company had already received, and were likely further to sustain, by this Ostend company. The House immediately resolved, that for the subjects of this kingdom to subscribe, or be concerned, in encouraging any subscription, to promote an East India company now erecting in the Austrian Netherlands, was a high crime and misdemeanour; and a law was enacted for preventing British subjects from engaging in that enterprise. By another act, relating to the South-Sea company, the two millions of stock which had been annihilated were revived, added to the capital, and divided among the proprietors. A third law passed, for the more effectual execution of justice in a part of Southwark, called the Mint, where a great number of debtors had taken sanctuary, on the supposition that it was a privileged place. On the twenty-seventh day of May the session was closed, with a speech that breathed nothing but panegyric, acknowledgment, and affection

to a Parliament which had complied with all his majesty's wishes.

AFFAIRS OF THE CONTINENT.

His majesty, having ennobled the son of Mr. Robert Walpole, in consideration of the father's services, made a good number of church promotions. He admitted the imprisoned lords and gentlemen to bail; granted a pardon to Lord Bolingbroke; and ordered the Bishop of Rochester to be conveyed to the Continent. Then he himself set out for Hanover, leaving the administration of his kingdoms in the hands of a regency, Lord Harcourt being one of the justices. The king was attended by the two secretaries, Lords Townshend and Carteret, who were counted able negotiators. The affairs of the Continent had begun to take a new turn. The interests and connexions of the different princes were become perplexed and embarrassed; and King George resolved to unravel them by dint of negotiation. Understanding that a treaty was on the carpet between the czar and the King of Sweden, favourable to the Duke of Holstein's pretensions to Sleswick, the possession of which the Elector of Hanover had guaranteed to Denmark, his majesty began to be in pain for Bremen and Verden. The Regent of France and the King of Spain had now compromised all differences; and their reconciliation was cemented by a double marriage between Philip's sons and the regent's daughters. The former proposed new treaties to England; but insisted upon the restitution of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, as well as upon the king's openly declaring against the Ostend company. His Britannic majesty was apprehensive that, should the emperor be hard pressed on that subject, he might join the czar and the King of Sweden, and promote their designs in favour of the Duke of Holstein. On the other hand, all the Italian powers exclaimed

against the treaty of London. The pope had protested against any thing that might have been decided at Cambray to the prejudice of his right. Memorials to the same effect had been presented by the King of Sardinia, the Dukes of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena. France and Spain were inclined to support these potentates against the House of Austria. Europe seemed to be on the eve of a new war. King George was entangled in such a variety of treaties and interests, that he knew not well how to extricate himself from the troublesome engagements he had contracted. By declaring for the emperor he must have countenanced the new establishment at Ostend, which was so prejudicial to his British subjects, and incurred the resentment of France, Spain, and their allies of Italy. In renouncing the interest of the emperor, he would have exposed his German dominions. In vain he exhorted the emperor to relax in his disputes with Spain, and give up the Ostend company, which was so detrimental and disagreeable to his faithful allies: the court of Vienna promised in general to observe the treaties which it had concluded, but declined entering into any particular discussion; so that all his majesty's endeavours issued in contracting closer connexions with Prussia and Denmark. All those negotiations carried on, all those treaties concluded by King George, with almost every prince and state in Christendom, which succeeded one another so fast, and appear, at first view, so intricate and unaccountable, were founded upon two simple and natural principles, namely, the desire of ascertaining his acquisitions as Elector of Hanover, and his resolution to secure himself against the disaffection of his British subjects, as well as the efforts of the pretender.

CLAMOUR IN IRELAND ON ACCOUNT OF WOOD'S COINAGE.

Great Britain at this period enjoyed profound tranquillity. Ireland was a little ruffled by an incident which seemed to have been misrepresented to the people of that kingdom. William Wood had obtained a patent for furnishing Ireland with copper currency, in which it was deficient. A great clamour was raised against this coin. The Parliament of that kingdom, which met in September, resolved, that it would be prejudicial to the revenue, destructive of trade, and of dangerous consequence to the rights of the subject: that the patent had been obtained by misrepresentation: that the halfpence wanted weight: that, even if the terms of the patent had been complied with, there would have been a great loss to the nation: that granting the power of coinage to a private person had ever been highly prejudicial to the kingdom, and would at all times be of dangerous consequence. Addresses from both Houses were presented to the king on this subject. The affair was referred to the lords of the privy-council of England. They justified the conduct of the patentee, upon the report of Sir Isaac Newton and other officers of the Mint, who had made an assay and trial of Wood's halfpence, and found he had complied with the terms of the patent. They declared that this currency exceeded in goodness, fineness, and value of metal, all the copper money which had been coined for Ireland, in the reigns of King Charles II. King James II. King William and Queen Mary. The privy-council likewise demonstrated, that his majesty's predecessors had always exercised the undoubted prerogative of granting patents for copper coinage in Ireland to private persons: that none of these patents had been so beneficial to the kingdom as this granted to William Wood, who had not obtained it in

an unprecedented manner, but after a reference to the attorney and solicitor-general, and after Sir Isaac Newton had been consulted in every particular: finally, they proved, by a great number of witnesses, that there was a real want of such money in Ireland. Notwithstanding this decision, the ferment of the Irish nation was industriously kept up by clamour, pamphlets, papers, and lampoons, written by Dean Swift and other authors; so that Wood voluntarily reduced his coinage from the value of one hundred thousand to forty thousand pounds. Thus the noise was silenced. The Commons of Ireland passed an act for accepting the affirmation of the quakers instead of an oath; and voted three hundred and forty thousand pounds towards discharging the debt of the nation, which amounted to about double that sum.

DEATH OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.

In the month of October, England lost a worthy nobleman in the death of Earl Cowper, who had twice discharged the office of lord chancellor, with equal discernment and integrity. He was profoundly skilled in the laws of his country; in his apprehension quick and penetrating; in his judgment clear and determinate. He possessed a manly eloquence; his manner was agreeable, and his deportment graceful. This year was likewise remarkable for the death of the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, who, since the decease of Louis XIV. had ruled that nation with the most absolute authority. He was a prince of taste and spirit, endowed with shining talents for empire, which he did not fail to display, even in the midst of effeminate pursuits and idle debauchery. From the infirm constitution of the infant king, he had conceived hopes of ascending the throne, and taken his measures accordingly; but the young monarch's health began to be established, and all the duke's schemes were defeated by an apoplexy, of which

he died, in the fiftieth year of his age, after having nominated the Duke of Bourbon as prime minister. King George immediately received assurances of the good disposition of the French court to cultivate and even improve the good understanding so happily established between France and Great Britain. The king arrived in England on the eighteenth day of December; and on the ninth day of January the Parliament was assembled. His majesty, in his speech, recommended to the Commons the care of the public debts; and he expressed his satisfaction at seeing the sinking fund improved and augmented, so as to put the debt of the nation into a method of being speedily and gradually discharged.

AN ACT FOR LESSENING THE PUBLIC DEBTS.

This was the repeated theory of patriotism, which, unhappily for the subjects, was never reduced to practice: not but that a beginning of such a laudable work was made in this very session, by an act for lessening the public debts. This law provided that the annuities at five per cent. charged on the general fund by a former act, except such as had been subscribed into the South-Sea, together with the unsubscribed blanks of the lottery in the year one thousand seven hundred and fourteen, should be paid off at Lady-day of the year next ensuing, with the money arising from the sinking fund. The ministry, however, did not persevere in this path of prudent economy. The Commons granted all the supplies that were demanded. They voted ten thousand seamen; and the majority, though not without violent opposition, agreed to maintain four thousand additional troops, which had been raised in the preceding year; so that the establishment of the land-forces amounted to eighteen thousand two hundred and sixty-four. The expense of the year was defrayed by a land-

tax and malt-tax[k]. The Commons, having despatched the supply, took into consideration a grievance arising from protections granted by foreign ministers, peers, and members of Parliament, under which profligate persons used to screen themselves from the prosecution of their just creditors. The Commons resolved, that all protections granted by members of that House should be declared void, and immediately withdrawn. The Lords made a declaration to the same purpose, with an exception of menial servants, and those necessarily employed about the estates of peers[l]. On the twenty-fourth day of April, his majesty closed the session in the usual manner, made some alterations in the disposition of the great offices of state, and sent Mr. Horatio Walpole as ambassador-extraordinary to the court of France.

PHILIP, KING OF SPAIN, ABDICATES THE THRONE.

In the beginning of this year, Philip, King of Spain, retiring with his queen to the monastery of St. Ildefonso, sent the Marquis of Grimaldi, his principal secretary of state, to his son Louis, Prince of Asturias, with a solemn renunciation of the crown, and a letter of advice, in which he exhorted him to cultivate the Blessed Virgin with the warmest devotion; and put himself and his

[k] Oldmixon. Political State. Historical Register. Annals of King George. Mem. Hist.

[l] The Duke of Newcastle was now appointed secretary of state; the Duke of Grafton, lord chamberlain; and Lord Carteret, lord lieutenant of Ireland.

The king instituted a professorship for the modern languages in each university.

In the month of May died Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, who had been a munificent patron of genius and literature; and completed a very valuable collection of manuscripts.

The practice of inoculation for the small-pox was by this time introduced into England from Turkey. Prince Frederick, the two Princesses Amelia and Carolina, the Duke of Bedford and his sister, with many other persons of distinction, underwent this operation with success.

Dr. Henry Sacheverel died in June, after having bequeathed five hundred pounds to the late Bishop of Rochester.

kingdoms under her protection. The renunciation was published through the whole monarchy of Spain; and the council of Castile resolved, that Louis might assume the reins of government without assembling the Cortez. The English minister at Paris was instructed to interpose in behalf of the French Protestants, against whom a severe edict had been lately published; but his remonstrances produced no effect. England, in the mean time, was quite barren of such events as deserve a place in history. The government was now firmly established on the neck of opposition, and commerce flourished even under the load of grievous impositions.

ABUSES IN CHANCERY.

The next Parliament, which met on the twelfth day of November, seemed to be assembled for no other purpose than that of establishing funds for the expense of the ensuing year: yet the session was distinguished by a remarkable incident; namely, the trial of the Earl of Macclesfield, lord chancellor of England. This nobleman had connived at certain venal practices touching the sale of places, and the money of suitors deposited with the masters of chancery, so as to incur the general reproach of the nation. He found it necessary to resign the great seal in the beginning of January. On the ninth day of the ensuing month, the king sent a message to the Commons, importing, that his majesty, having reason to apprehend that the suitors in the court of chancery were in danger of losing a considerable sum of money, from the insufficiency of some of the masters, thought himself obliged, in justice and compassion to the said sufferers, to take the most speedy and proper method the law would allow for inquiring into the state of the masters' accounts, and securing their effects for the benefit of the suitors; and his majesty having had several reports laid before him in pursuance of the direc-

tions he had given, had ordered the reports to be communicated to the House, that they might have as full and as perfect a view of this important affair as the shortness of the time, and the circumstances and nature of the proceedings, would admit.

TRIAL OF THE EARL OF MACCLESFIELD.

These papers being taken into consideration, Sir George Oxenden observed, that enormous abuses had crept into the high court of chancery: that the crimes and misdemeanours of the late lord chancellor were many and various, but might be reduced to the following heads: that he had embezzled the estates and effects of many widows, orphans, and lunatics: that he had raised the offices of masters in chancery to an exorbitant price; trusting in their hands large sums of money belonging to suitors, that they might be enabled to comply with his exorbitant demands; and that in several cases he had made divers irregular orders. He therefore moved, that Thomas Earl of Macclesfield should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours. Mr. Pulteney moved, that this affair might be left to the consideration of a select committee[m]. Sir William Wyndham asserted, that in proceeding by way of impeachment upon reports from above, they would make a dangerous precedent; and seem to give up the most valuable of their privileges, the inquest after state criminals. The question being put, it was carried for the impeachment. The earl was accordingly impeached at the bar of the Upper House: a committee was appointed to prepare articles; and a bill was brought in, to indemnify the masters in chancery from the penalties of the law, upon discovering what consideration they had paid for their admission to their respective offices.

[m] Annals. Mem. Hist. Debates in Parliament.

The trial lasted twenty days: the earl was convicted of fraudulent practices, and condemned in a fine of thirty thousand pounds, with imprisonment until that sum should be paid. He was immediately committed to the Tower, where he continued about six weeks; but upon producing the money he was discharged; and Sir Peter King, now created Baron of Oakham, succeeded him in the office of chancellor.

DEBATES ABOUT THE DEBTS OF THE CIVIL LIST.

His majesty, on the 8th day of April, gave the House of Commons to understand, that having been engaged in some extraordinary expenses, he hoped he should be enabled to raise a sum of money, by making use of the funds lately established for the payment of the civil list annuities, in order to discharge the debts contracted in the civil government. Mr. Pulteney, cofferer of the household, moved for an address, that an account should be laid before the House of all monies paid for secret service, pensions, and bounties, from the twenty-fifth day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and one, to the twenty-fifth of the same month in the present year. This address being voted, a motion was made to consider the king's message. Mr. Pulteney urged that this consideration should be postponed until the House should have examined the papers that were the subject of the address. He expressed his surprise, that a debt amounting to above five hundred thousand pounds should be contracted in three years; he said, he did not wonder that some persons should be so eager to make good the deficiencies of the civil list, since they and their friends enjoyed such a share of that revenue; and he desired to know whether this was all that was due, or whether they should expect another reckoning? This gentleman began to be dissatisfied with the mea-

sures of the ministry; and his sarcasms were aimed at Mr. Walpole, who undertook to answer his objections. The Commons took the message into consideration, and passed a bill enabling his majesty to raise a sum, not exceeding one million, by exchequer bills, loans, or otherwise, on the credit of the deductions of sixpence per pound, directed by an act of Parliament of the seventh year of his majesty, and of the civil list revenues, at an interest not exceeding three pounds per cent. till repayment of the principal.

A BILL IN FAVOUR OF THE LATE LORD BOLINGBROKE.

On the twentieth day of April, a petition was presented to the House by Lord Finch, in behalf of Henry St. John, late Viscount Bolingbroke, praying that the execution of the law with respect to his forfeitures might be suspended, as a pardon had suspended it with respect to his life. Mr. Walpole signified to the House, by his majesty's command, that, seven years before, the petitioner had made his humble application and submission to the king, with assurances of duty, allegiance, and fidelity: that, from his behaviour since that time, his majesty was convinced of his being a fit object of his mercy; and consented to his petitioning the House. The petition being read, Mr. Walpole declared himself fully satisfied that the petitioner had sufficiently atoned for his past offences; and therefore deserved the favour of that House, so far as to enable him to enjoy the family inheritance that was settled upon him, which he could not do by virtue of his majesty's pardon, without an act of Parliament. Lord Finch moved that a bill might be brought in for this purpose, and was warmly opposed by Mr. Methuen, comptroller of the household, who represented Bolingbroke as a monster of iniquity. His remonstrance was supported by Lord

William Paulet, and Mr. Onslow; nevertheless, the bill was prepared, passed through both Houses, and received the royal assent. An act being passed for disarming the Highlanders of Scotland; another for regulating elections within the city of London; a third for reducing the interest of several bank annuities, together with some bills of a private nature, the Parliament was prorogued in May, after the king had, in the warmest terms of acknowledgment, expressed his approbation of their conduct. Then he appointed lords-justices to govern the nation in his absence; and set out in June for his German dominions[n].

TREATY OF ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE COURTS OF VIENNA AND MADRID.

The tide of political interests on the Continent had begun to flow in a new channel, so as to render ineffectual the mounds which his Britannic majesty had raised by his multiplicity of negotiations. Louis, the Spanish monarch, dying soon after his elevation to the throne, his father Philip resumed the crown which he had resigned; and gave himself up implicitly to the conduct of his queen, who was a princess of indefatigable intrigue and insatiate ambition. The infanta who had been married to Louis XV. of France, was so disagreeable to her husband, that the whole French nation began to be apprehensive of a civil war, in consequence of his dying without male issue; he therefore determined, with the advice of his council, to send back the

[n] On the fifth day of December the Princess of Wales was delivered of a princess, christened by the name of Louisa, and afterwards married to the King of Denmark. She died December the nineteenth, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one.

Immediately after the session of Parliament, the king revived the order of the Bath, thirty-eight in number, including the sovereign.

William Bateman was created Baron of Calmore in Ireland, and Viscount Bateman; and Sir Robert Walpole, who had been one of the revived knights of the Bath, was now honoured with the order of the Garter.

infanta, as the nuptials had not been consummated; and she was attended to Madrid by the Marquis de Monteleone. The Queen of Spain resented this insult offered to her daughter; and in revenge dismissed Mademoiselle de Beaujolois, one of the regent's daughters, who had been betrothed to her son Don Carlos. As the congress at Cambray had proved ineffectual, she offered to adjust her differences with the emperor, under the sole mediation of Great Britain. This was an honour which King George declined. He was averse to any undertaking that might interrupt the harmony subsisting between him and the court of Versailles; and he had taken umbrage at the emperor's refusing to grant the investiture of Bremen and Verden, except upon terms which he did not choose to embrace. The peace between the courts of Vienna and Madrid which he refused to mediate was effected by a private negotiation, under the management of the Duke de Ripperda, a native of the States-General, who had renounced the protestant religion, and entered into the service of his catholic majesty. By two treaties, signed at Vienna in the month of April, the emperor acknowledged Philip as King of Spain and the Indies, and promised that he would not molest him in the possession of those dominions that were secured to him by the treaty of Utrecht. Philip renounced all pretensions to the dominions in Italy and the Netherlands, adjudged to the emperor by the treaty of London: Charles granted the investiture of the dukedoms of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, to the eldest son of the Queen of Spain, in default of heirs in the present possessors, as masculine fiefs of the empire. Spain became guarantee of the Austrian succession, according to the pragmatic sanction, by which the dominions of that house were settled on the emperor's heirs general, and declared to be a perpetual, indivisible, and inseparable feoffment to the primogeniture. By the commercial treaty of Vienna, the Austrian subjects

were entitled to advantages in trade with Spain, which no other nation enjoyed. His catholic majesty guaranteed the Ostend East India company; and agreed to pay an annual subsidy of four millions of piastres to the emperor. Great sums were remitted to Vienna: the imperial forces were augmented to a formidable number; and other powers were solicited to engage in this alliance, to which the court of Petersburgh actually acceded.

TREATY OF HANOVER.

The King of Great Britain took the alarm. The emperor and he had for some time treated each other with manifest coolness. He had reason to fear some attempts upon his German dominions, and projected a defensive treaty with France and Prussia. This alliance, limited to the term of fifteen years, was negotiated and concluded at Hanover in the month of September. It implied a mutual guarantee of the dominions possessed by the contracting parties, their rights and privileges, those of commerce in particular, and an engagement to procure satisfaction to the Protestants of Thorn, who had lately been oppressed by the Catholics, contrary to the treaty of Oliva. The king, having taken these precautions at Hanover, set out on his return for England; embarked at Helvoetsluys in the middle of December; and, after having been exposed to the fury of a dreadful storm, was landed with great difficulty at Rye, from whence he proceeded by land to London. The Parliament meeting on the twentieth day of the next month, he gave them to understand that the distressed condition of some of their protestant brethren abroad, and the negotiations and engagements contracted by some foreign powers, which seemed to have laid the foundation of new troubles and disturbances in Europe, and to threaten his

subjects with the loss of several of the most advantageous branches of their trade, had obliged him to concert with other powers such measures as might give a check to the ambitious views of those who were endeavouring to render themselves formidable, and put a stop to the further progress of such dangerous designs. He told them, that the enemies of his government were already very busy, by their instruments and emissaries in those courts whose measures seemed most to favour their purposes, in soliciting and promoting the cause of the pretender. One sees at first sight, that the interests of Germany dictated the treaty of Hanover; but, in order to secure the approbation of Great Britain, upon which the support of this alliance chiefly depended, it was judged necessary to insert the articles relating to commerce and the protestant religion, as if the engagement had been contracted purely for the advantage and glory of England. In a word, the ministry began now to ring the changes upon a few words that have been repeated ever since, like cabalistical sounds, by which the nation has been enchanted into a very dangerous connexion with the concerns of the Continent. They harangued, they insisted upon the machinations of the disaffected, the designs of a popish pretender, the protestant interest, and the balance of power, until these expressions became absolutely terms of ridicule with every person of common sense and reflection. The people were told that the emperor and the King of Spain, exclusive of the public treaties concluded at Vienna, had entered into private engagements, importing, that the imperialists should join the Spaniards in recovering Gibraltar and Port-Mahon by force of arms, in case the King of England should refuse to restore them amicably, according to a solemn promise he had made: that a double marriage should take place between the two infants of Spain, and the two Archduchesses of Austria; and that means should

be taken to place the pretender on the throne of Great Britain.

When the treaties of Vienna and Hanover fell under consideration of the House of Commons, Horatio Walpole, afterwards termed, in derision, " the balance master," opened the debate with a long unanimated oration, giving a detail of the affairs of Europe since the treaty of Utrecht. He enumerated the barrier treaty, the convention for executing that treaty, the defensive alliance with the emperor, the other with the most christian king and the States-General, another convention, the quadruple alliance, the congress at Cambray, the treaty of Hanover, and that of Vienna. He explained the nature of each engagement. He said, the main design of the treaty of commerce concluded between the emperor and Spain was to countenance and support the East India company established at Ostend, which interfered so essentially with the East India companies of England and Holland, and was directly contrary to several solemn treaties still in force. He enlarged upon the danger to which the balance of power would be exposed, should the issue-male of this projected marriage between the houses of Austria and Spain ever possess the imperial dignity and the kingdom of Spain together. The reader will take notice, that this very man was one of those who exclaimed against that article of the treaty of Utrecht, which prevented the power of those two houses from being immediately united in the person of the emperor. He did not forget to expatiate upon the pretended secret engagement concerning Gibraltar and Minorca, and the king's pious concern for the distressed Protestants of Thorn in Poland. In vain did Mr. Shippen urge, that the treaty of Hanover would engage the British nation in a war for the defence of the king's German dominions, contrary to an express provision made in the act of limitation. These arguments had lost all weight.

The opposition was so inconsiderable, that the ministry had no reason to be in pain about any measure they should propose. An address was voted and delivered to his majesty, approving the alliance he had concluded at Hanover, in order to obviate and disappoint the dangerous views and consequences of the treaty of peace betwixt the emperor and the King of Spain; and promising to support his majesty against all insults and attacks that should be made upon any of his territories, though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain. An address of the same kind was presented by the House of Lords in a body. A bill was brought in, empowering the commissioners of the treasury to compound with Mr. Richard Hampden, late treasurer of the navy, for a debt he owed to the crown, amounting to eight-and-forty thousand pounds. This deficiency was occasioned by his embarking in the South-Sea scheme. The king recommended his petition; and the House complied with his request, in consideration of his great grandfather, the famous John Hampden, who made such a noble stand against the arbitrary measures of the first Charles.

RIOTS IN SCOTLAND ON ACCOUNT OF THE MALT-TAX.

The malt-tax was found so grievous to Scotland, that the people refused to pay it, and riots were excited in different parts of the kingdom. At Glasgow, the populace, armed with clubs and staves, rifled the house of Daniel Campbell, their representative in Parliament, who had voted for the bill; and maltreated some excisemen who attempted to take an account of the malt. General Wade, who commanded the forces in Scotland, had sent two companies of soldiers, under the command of Captain Bushel, to prevent or appease a disturbance of this nature. That officer drew up his

men in the street, where they were pelted with stones by the multitude, which he endeavoured to disperse by firing among them without shot. This expedient failing, he ordered his men to load their pieces with ball; and at a time when the magistrates were advancing towards him in a body, to assist him with their advice and influence, he commanded the soldiers to fire four different ways, without the sanction of the civil authority. About twenty persons were killed or wounded on this occasion. The people seeing so many victims fall, were exasperated beyond all sense of danger. They began to procure arms, and breathed nothing but defiance and revenge. Bushel thought proper to retreat to the castle of Dunbarton, and was pursued above five miles by the enraged multitude. General Wade being informed of this transaction, assembled a body of forces; and being accompanied by Duncan Forbes, lord advocate, took possession of Glasgow°. The magistrates were apprehended, and conveyed prisoners to Edinburgh, where the lords justiciary, having taken cognizance of the affair, declared them innocent; so that they were immediately discharged. Bushel was tried for murder, convicted, and condemned; but instead of undergoing the penalties of the law, he was indulged with a pardon, and promoted in the service. Daniel Campbell having petitioned the House of Commons that he might be indemnified for the damage he had sustained from the rioters, a bill was passed in his favour, granting him a certain sum to be raised from an imposition laid upon all the beer and ale brewed in the city of Glasgow. The malt-tax was so sensibly felt in Scotland, that the convention of the royal burghs presented a remonstrance against it, as a grievous burthen, which their country could not bear: petitions to the same purpose were delivered to the Commons from dif-

° Oldmixon. Annals. Debates in Parliament. Historical Memoirs. Tindal.

ferent shires in that kingdom[p]. On the twenty-fourth day of March the king sent a message to the House by Sir Paul Methuen, desiring an extraordinary supply, that he might be able to augment his maritime force, and concert such other measures as should be necessary in the present conjuncture. A debate ensued; but the majority complied with the demand. Some members in the Upper House complained that the message was not sent to both Houses of Parliament, and this suggestion gave rise to another debate, in which Lord Bathurst and others made some melancholy reflections upon the state of insignificance to which the peers of England were reduced. Such remarks, however, were very little minded by the ministry, who had obtained a complete victory over all opposition. The supplies, ordinary and extraordinary, being granted, with every thing else which the court thought proper to ask, and several bills passed for the regulation of civil economy, the king dismissed the Parliament on the twenty-fourth day of May.

A SQUADRON SENT TO THE BALTIC.

By this time Peter the Czar of Muscovy was dead, and his Empress Catharine had succeeded him on the Russian throne. This princess had begun to assemble forces in the neighbourhood of Petersburgh; and to prepare a formidable armament for a naval expedition. King George, concluding that her design was against Sweden, sent a strong squadron into the Baltic, under the command of Sir Charles Wager, in order to anticipate her views upon his allies. The English fleet being

[p] The Duke of Wharton, having consumed his fortune in riot and extravagance, repaired to the court of Vienna, from whence he proceeded to Rome, and offered his service to the pretender. There he received the order of the garter, and the title of Duke of Northumberland. He was sent by the Chevalier de St. George with credentials to the court of Madrid, where he abjured the protestant religion, married a lady of the Queen of Spain's bedchamber, and obtained the rank and appointment of a lieutenant-colonel in the Spanish service.

joined at Copenhagen by a Danish squadron, alarmed the court of Russia, which immediately issued orders for reinforcing the garrisons of Wibourg, Cronstadt, Revel, and Riga. The English admiral, having had an audience with his Swedish majesty, steered towards Revel, and sent thither a lieutenant, with a letter from the King of Great Britain to the czarina. This was an expostulation, in which his majesty observed, that he and his allies could not fail of being alarmed at her great preparations by sea and land. He complained that measures had been taken at her court in favour of the pretender: that his repeated instances for establishing a lasting friendship with the crown of Russia had been treated with neglect; and he gave her to understand, that he had ordered his admiral to prevent her ships from coming out of her harbours, should she persist in her resolution to execute the designs she had projected. The czarina, in her answer to the king, expressed her surprise that she had not received his majesty's letter until his fleet was at anchor before Revel, since it would have been more agreeable to the custom established among sovereigns, and to the amity which had so long subsisted between her kingdoms and the crown of Great Britain, to expostulate with her on her armament, and expect her answer, before he had proceeded to such an offensive measure. She assured him that nothing was farther from her thoughts than any design to disturb the peace of the North; and with regard to the pretender, it was a frivolous and stale accusation, which had been frequently used as a pretext to cover all the unkind steps lately undertaken against the Russian empire. Sir Charles Wager continued in his station until he received certain intelligence that the Russian galleys were laid up in their winter harbour: then he set sail for the coast of Denmark, from whence he returned to England in the month of November.

ADMIRAL HOSIER'S EXPEDITION TO THE WEST INDIES.

King George, that he might not seem to convert all his attention to the affairs of the North, had equipped two other squadrons, one of which was destined for the West Indies, under the command of Admiral Hosier; the other, conducted by Sir John Jennings, having on board a body of land-forces, sailed from St. Helen's on the twentieth day of July, entered the bay of St. Antonio, then visited Lisbon, from whence he directed his course to the bay of Bulls, near Cadiz, and cruised off Cape St. Mary's, so as to alarm the coast of Spain, and fill Madrid with consternation. Yet he committed no act of hostility; but was treated with great civility by the Spanish governor of Cadiz, who supplied him with refreshments. Rear-Admiral Hosier, with seven ships of war, had sailed in April for the Spanish West Indies, with instructions to block up the galleons in the ports of that country; or, should they presume to come out, to seize and bring them to England. Before his arrival at the Bastimentos, near Porto-Bello, the treasure, consisting of above six millions sterling, had been unloaded, and carried back to Panama, in pursuance of an order sent by an advice-boat which had the start of Hosier. This admiral lay inactive on that station, until he became the jest of the Spaniards. He returned to Jamaica, where he found means to reinforce his crews; then he stood over to Carthagena. The Spaniards had by this time seized the English South-Sea ship at La Vera Cruz, together with all the vessels and effects belonging to that company. Hosier in vain demanded restitution: he took some Spanish ships by way of reprisal, and continued cruising in those seas until the greater part of his men perished deplorably by the diseases of that unhealthy climate, and his ships were to-

tally ruined by the worms. This brave officer being restricted by his orders from obeying the dictates of his courage, seeing his best officers and men daily swept off by an outrageous distemper, and his ships exposed to inevitable destruction, is said to have died of a broken heart; while the people of England loudly clamoured against this unfortunate expedition, in which so many lives were thrown away, and so much money expended, without the least advantage to the nation. It seems to have been a mean piratical scheme to rob the court of Spain of its expected treasure, even while a peace subsisted between the two nations. The ministry of Great Britain, indeed, alleged, that the Spanish king had entered into engagements in favour of the pretender.

DISGRACE OF THE DUKE DE RIPPERDA.

The Dukes of Ormond and Wharton, and the Earl Marischal, were certainly at Madrid; and the Duke de Ripperda, now prime minister of Spain, dropped some expressions to the English envoy, that implied some such design, which, however, the court of Madrid positively denied. Ripperda, as a foreigner, fell a sacrifice to the jealousy of the Spanish ministers. He was suddenly dismissed from his employments, with a pension of three thousand pistoles. He forthwith took refuge in the house of Vandermeer, the Dutch ambassador, who was unwilling to be troubled with such a guest. He therefore conveyed the duke in his coach to the house of Colonel Stanhope, the British minister, whose protection he craved and obtained. Nevertheless, he was dragged from thence by force, and committed prisoner to the castle of Segovia. He afterwards made his escape, and sheltered himself in England, from the resentment of his catholic majesty. Colonel Stanhope complained of this violation of the law of nations, which the Spanish ministers endeavoured to excuse. Memo-

rials and letters passed between the two courts, and every thing tended to a rupture. The King of Spain purchased ships of war; began to make preparations for some important undertaking; and assembled an army of twenty thousand men at St. Roch, on pretence of rebuilding the old castle of Gibraltar. Meanwhile the States-General and the King of Sweden acceded to the treaty of Hanover; but the King of Prussia, though his majesty's son-in-law, was detached from the alliance by the emperor, with whom he contracted new engagements.

SUBSTANCE OF THE KING'S SPEECH TO PARLIAMENT.

On the seventeenth day of January, the British Parliament was opened with a long, elaborate speech, importing, that the proceedings and transactions of the emperor and King of Spain, and the secret offensive alliance concluded between them, had laid the foundation of a most exorbitant and formidable power: that they were directly levelled against the most valuable and darling interests and privileges of the English nation, which must either give up Gibraltar to Spain, and acquiesce in the emperor's usurped exercise of commerce, or resolve vigorously to defend their undoubted rights against those reciprocal engagements, contracted in defiance and violation of all national faith, and the most solemn treaties. He assured them, that one of those secret articles was the placing the pretender on the throne of Great Britain; and another, the conquest of Gibraltar and Port Mahon. He affirmed that those combinations extended themselves into Russia; and that the English fleet seasonably prevented such designs as would have opened a way to the invasion of these kingdoms. He exhorted the Commons to grant such supplies as should be necessary for the defence of their

country, and for making good his engagements with the allies of Great Britain. He told them, that the King of Spain had ordered his minister residing in England to quit the kingdom; and that he had left a memorial little short of a declaration, in which he insisted upon the restitution of Gibraltar. He did not fail to touch the energetic strings which always moved their passions; the balance of power in Europe, the security of the British commerce, the designs of a popish pretender, the present happy establishment, the religion, liberties, and properties of a protestant people. Such addresses of thanks were penned in both Houses as the ministers were pleased to dictate; yet not without opposition from a minority, which was far from being formidable, though headed by chiefs of uncommon talents and resolution. The Commons voted twenty thousand seamen, besides six-and-twenty thousand three hundred and eighty-three men for the land-service; and, to defray the extraordinary expense, a land-tax of four shillings in the pound was granted.

DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS UPON THE APPROACHING RUPTURE.

The House of Lords having taken into consideration the letters and memorials between the ministers of Great Britain, France, and Spain, and the papers relating to the accession of the States-General to the treaty of Hanover, a warm debate ensued. Lord Bathurst took notice, that the accession of the States-General to the treaty was upon condition that this their act should be approved and ratified by the King of Great Britain, the most christian king, and the King of Prussia; but that the minister of his Prussian majesty had refused to sign the act of accession, which was therefore of no effect: that if the court of France should, for the same reason, think itself disengaged from the Hanover alliance,

Britain alone would be obliged to bear the burthen of an expensive war against two of the greatest potentates of Europe. He said he could not see any just reason for a rupture with Spain: that, indeed, the Duke de Ripperda might have dropped some indiscreet expressions; he was known to be a man of violent temper; and he had been solemnly disavowed by his catholic majesty; that, in the memorial left by the Spanish ambassador, he imputed the violent state of affairs between the two crowns to the ministers of England; and mentioned a positive promise made by the King of Great Britain for the restitution of Gibraltar: that methods of accommodation might be tried, before the kingdom engaged in a war which must be attended with dangerous consequences: that the nation was loaded with a debt of fifty millions; and, in order to maintain such a war, would be obliged to raise seven millions yearly; an annual sum by which the people would soon be exhausted. He observed, that in some papers laid before the House, mention was made of great sums distributed in divers places, to bring certain measures to bear. He declared, that for his own part, he had touched neither Spanish nor English gold: he was neither a Spaniard nor a Frenchman, but a true Englishman, and so long as he had the honour to sit in that House, he would speak and act for the good of his country. He, therefore, desired their lordships seriously to consider the matter before them, which was of the last consequence and importance to the whole nation. He said nothing could be gained by the war, should it prove successful; and every thing would be lost should it prove unprosperous. He was answered by Lord Townshend, who affirmed that his majesty had received positive and certain information with respect to the secret article of alliance between the courts of Vienna and Madrid, in favour of the pretender, though the safety of the state did not permit him to lay these advices before the Par-

liament. After much altercation, the majority resolved, that the measures his majesty had thought fit to take were honourable, just, and necessary for preventing the execution of the dangerous engagements entered into in favour of the pretender; for preserving the dominions belonging to the crown of Great Britain by solemn treaties, and particularly those of Gibraltar and the island of Minorca; and for maintaining to his people their most valuable rights and privileges of commerce, and the peace and tranquillity of Europe. Seventeen lords entered a protest against this resolution. Disputes of the same nature arose from the same subject in the Lower House. Lord Townshend had affirmed in the House of Peers, that no promise of restoring Gibraltar had been made: Sir Robert Walpole owned such a promise in the House of Commons: a motion was made for an address, desiring these engagements might be laid before the House: another member moved for a copy of the memorial presented by Mr. Pointz to the King of Sweden, and for the secret offensive article between the courts of Vienna and Madrid: a third motion was made to address the king for such memorials and representations from the courts of Sweden and Denmark, as induced him, in the course of the preceding year, to send a squadron to the Baltic. In the account of the money granted for the service of the last year, there was an article of one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds charged in general terms, as issued out for other engagements and expenses, over and above such as were specified. Mr. Pulteney moved for an address on this subject; but each of these motions was rejected on a division; and the majority concurred in an address of thanks to his majesty, for the great wisdom of his conduct. They expressed the most implicit confidence in his goodness and discretion; they promised to support him in all such further measures as he should find necessary and expedient for pre-

venting a rupture, as well as for consulting the honour and advantage of these kingdoms.

His majesty's speech gave such umbrage to the court of Vienna, that Mr. Palms, the imperial resident at London, was ordered to present a warm memorial to the king, and afterwards to publish it to the whole nation. In this bold remonstrance, the king was charged with having declared from the throne, as certain and undoubted facts, several things that were either wrested, misrepresented, or void of all foundation. The memorialist affirmed, that the treaty of Vienna was built on the quadruple alliance; that the treaty of commerce was calculated to promote the mutual and lawful advantages of the subjects of both parties, agreeably to the law of nations, and in no respect prejudicial to the British nation. He declared that there was no offensive alliance concluded between the two crowns: that the supposed article relating to the pretender was an absolute falsehood: that the insinuation with respect to the siege of Gibraltar was equally untrue, his master having made no engagements with the King of Spain but such as were specified in the treaty communicated to his Britannic majesty. He said, however, the hostilities notoriously committed in the West Indies, and elsewhere, against the King of Spain, in violation of treaties, seemed to justify that prince's undertaking the siege of Gibraltar. Finally, he demanded, in the name of his imperial majesty, suitable reparation for the injury his honour had sustained from such calumnious imputations. Both Houses of Parliament expressed their indignation at the insolence of this memorial, in an address to his majesty; and Mr. Palms was ordered to depart the kingdom. Virulent declarations were presented by the ministers of the emperor and the King of Great Britain to the diet of the empire at Ratisbon; and such personal reflections retorted between these two potentates, that all hope of reconciliation vanished.

CONVENTIONS WITH SWEDEN AND HESSE-CASSEL.

King George, in order to secure himself against the impending storm, entered into more strict engagements with the French king; and agreed to pay fifty thousand pounds for three years to the King of Sweden, in consideration of that prince's holding in readiness a body of ten thousand troops for the occasions of the alliance. He concluded a fresh treaty with the King of Denmark, who promised to furnish a certain number of auxiliaries, on account of a large subsidy granted by the King of France. The proportions of troops to be sent into the field in case of a rupture were ascertained. His Britannic majesty engaged for four-and-twenty thousand men, and a strong squadron to be sent into the Baltic. He made a convention with the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, who undertook to provide eight thousand infantry and four thousand horse, in consideration of seventy-four thousand pounds, to be paid by Great Britain immediately, and fifty thousand pounds more, in case the troops should be required, besides their pay and subsistence[q]. Such was the fruit of all the alliances so industriously planned since the accession of King George to the throne of Great Britain. In the day of his trouble, the King of Prussia, who had espoused his daughter, deserted his interest; and the States-General stood aloof. For the security of his German dominions, he had recourse to the King of France, who was a precarious ally; to the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, and the principality of Hesse-Cassel: but none of these powers would contribute their assistance without being gratified with exorbitant subsidies, though the danger was common, and the efforts ought to have been equal.

[q] Annals. Debates in Parliament. Tindal. Lives of the Admirals.

Instead of allies, they professed themselves mercenaries. Great Britain paid them for the defence of their own dominions: she, moreover, undertook to maintain a powerful fleet for their safety. Is there any Briton so weak as to think, or so fool-hardy as to affirm, that this was a British quarrel?

VOTE OF CREDIT.

For the support of those expensive treaties, Mr. Scroope, secretary of the treasury, moved in the House of Commons, that in the malt-tax bill they should insert a clause of appropriation, empowering the king to apply such sums as should be necessary for defraying the expenses and engagements which had been or should be made before the twenty-fifth day of September, in concerting such measures as he should think most conducive to the security of trade, and restoring the peace of Europe. To little purpose did the members in the opposition urge, that this method of asking and granting supplies was unparliamentary: that such a clause would render ineffectual that appropriation of the public money, which the wisdom of all Parliaments had thought a necessary security against misapplication, which was the more to be feared, as no provision was made to call any person to account for the money that should be disposed of by virtue of this clause: that great sums had already been granted: that such an unlimited power ought never to be given in a free government: that such confidence in the crown might, through the influence of evil ministers, be attended with the most dangerous consequences: that the constitution could not be preserved but by a strict adherence to those essential parliamentary forms of granting supplies upon estimates, and of appropriating these supplies to services and occasions publicly avowed and judged necessary: that such clauses, if not season-

ably checked, would become so frequent, as in time to lodge in the crown and in the ministers an absolute and uncontrollable power of raising money upon the people, which by the constitution is, and with safety can only be, lodged in the whole legislature. The motion was carried, the clause added, and the bill passed through the other House without amendment, though not without opposition. Notwithstanding this vote of credit, Sir William Yonge moved, that towards the supply granted to the king, the sum of three hundred and seventy thousand pounds should be raised by loans on exchequer bills, to be charged on the surplus of the duties on coal and culm, which was reserved for the Parliament's disposal. Though this motion was vigorously opposed by Sir Joseph Jekyl and Mr. Pulteney, as a dangerous deviation from several votes and acts of Parliament, by which the exceedings of the public funds were appropriated to the discharge of the national debt, or to the increase of the sinking funds, it was carried by the majority.

SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR BY THE SPANIARDS.

On the fifteenth day of May the Parliament was prorogued, after the king had acknowledged their zeal, liberality, and despatch; and given them to understand that the siege of Gibraltar was actually begun. The trenches were opened before this fortress on the eleventh day of February, by the Condé de las Torres, at the head of twenty thousand men. The place was well provided for a defence; and the old Earl of Portmore, who was governor, embarked with a reinforcement from England, under convoy of a fleet commanded by Sir Charles Wager. He arrived at Gibraltar in the beginning of April, where he landed the troops, with a great quantity of ammunition, warlike stores, and four-and-twenty pieces of cannon. At the same time, five hun-

dred men arrived from Minorca; so that the garrison amounted to six thousand, plentifully supplied with fresh provisions from the coasts of Barbary, and treated the efforts of the besiegers with great contempt. The States-General, being apprehensive of an attempt upon their barrier in the Netherlands, desired the king would hold in readiness the ten thousand auxiliaries stipulated in the treaty. These were immediately prepared for embarkation, and the forces of England were augmented with thirty new-raised companies. Sir John Norris set sail with a powerful fleet for the Baltic, and was joined by a Danish squadron: but the czarina dying on the seventeenth day of May, he had no occasion to commit hostilities, as the Russian armament was laid aside.

PRELIMINARIES OF PEACE.

Meanwhile the powers at variance, though extremely irritated against each other, were all equally averse to a war that might again embroil all Europe. The King of France interposed his mediation, which was conducted by the Duke de Richlieu, his ambassador at Vienna. Plans and counterplans of pacification were proposed between the two crowns and the allies. At length, all parties agreed to twelve preliminary articles, which were signed in May at Paris, by the ministers of the Hanover alliance, and afterwards at Vienna, by the imperial and Spanish ambassadors. These imported, that hostilities should immediately cease: that the charter of the Ostend company should be suspended for seven years: and that a congress should in four months be opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, for adjusting all differences, and consolidating the peace of Europe. This congress was afterwards transferred to Soissons, for the conveniency of the French minister, whose presence was necessary at court. The siege of Gibraltar was raised, after it had lasted four months, during which the Spaniards lost a great number

of men by sickness, while the garrison sustained very little damage. The court of Madrid, however, started some new difficulties, and for some time would not consent to the restitution of the South-Sea ship, which had been detained at La Vera Cruz, in the West Indies; so that Sir Charles Wager continued to cruise on the coast of Spain; but these objections were removed in the sequel.

DEATH AND CHARACTER OF GEORGE I. KING OF GREAT BRITAIN.

King George, having appointed a regency, embarked at Greenwich on the third day of June, and landing in Holland, on the seventh, set out on his journey to Hanover. He was suddenly seized with a paralytic disorder on the road: he forthwith lost the faculty of speech, became lethargic, and was conveyed in a state of insensibility to Osnabruck. There he expired on Sunday, the eleventh day of June, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and in the thirteenth of his reign.—George I. was plain and simple in his person and address; grave and composed in his deportment, though easy, familiar, and facetious in his hours of relaxation. Before he ascended the throne of Great Britain, he had acquired the character of a circumspect general, a just and merciful prince, a wise politician, who perfectly understood, and steadily pursued, his own interest. With these qualities, it cannot be doubted but that he came to England extremely well disposed to govern his new subjects according to the maxims of the British constitution, and the genius of the people; and if ever he seemed to deviate from these principles, we may take it for granted that he was misled by the venal suggestions of a ministry whose power and influence were founded on corruption[r].

[r] See note [B], vol. vi.

CHAPTER XV.

George II. ascends the Throne of Great Britain.—Characters of the principal Persons concerned in the Ministry.—Debates in Parliament concerning the Civil-List.—Changes and Promotions.—New Parliament.—Violent Dispute concerning the national Debt.—Vote of Credit.—A double Marriage between the Houses of Spain and Portugal.—Liberality of the Commons.—Debates on the Subsidies of Hesse-Cassel and Wolfenbuttel.—Committee for inspecting the Gaols.—Address touching the Spanish Depredations.—A Sum voted to the King on Account of Arrears due on the Civil-List Revenue.—Proceedings in the House of Lords.—Wise Conduct of the Irish Parliament.—Abdication of the King of Sardinia. Death of Pope Benedict XIII.—Substance of the King's Speech to both Houses.—Objections to the Treaty of Seville in the House of Lords.—Opposition in the Lower House to a standing Army.—Bill prohibiting Loans to foreign Princes or States.—Charter of the East India Company prolonged.—The Emperor resents the Treaty of Seville.—Seven Indian Chiefs arrive in England.—Revolution at Constantinople.—England infested with Robbers, Assassins, and Incendiaries.—Bill against Pensioners sitting as Members in the House of Commons.—Treaty of Vienna.—Death of the Duke of Parma.—Don Carlos takes Possession of his Territories.—France distracted by religious Disputes.—The Ministry violently opposed in Parliament.—Debate on a standing Army.—Account of the Charitable Corporation.—Revival of the Salt-Tax.—Mr. Pulteney's Name struck out of the List of Privy-Counsellors.—The King sets out for Hanover.

GEORGE II. ASCENDS THE THRONE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

At the accession of George II. the nation had great reason to wish for an alteration of measures. The public debt, notwithstanding the boasted economy and management of the ministers; notwithstanding the sinking fund, which had been extolled as a growing treasure sacred to the discharge of national incumbrances, was

now increased to fifty millions two hundred sixty-one thousand two hundred and six pounds, nineteen shillings, eight-pence three farthings. The kingdom was bewildered in a labyrinth of treaties and conventions, by which it stood engaged in pecuniary subsidies to many powers upon the Continent, with whom its real interests could never be connected. The wealth of the nation had been lavished upon those foreign connexions, upon unnecessary wars, and fruitless expeditions. Dangerous encroachments had been made upon the constitution by the repeal of the act for triennial Parliaments; by frequent suspensions of the habeas-corpus act upon frivolous occasions; by repealing clauses in the act of settlement; by votes of credit; by habituating the people to a standing army; and, above all, by establishing a system of corruption, which at all times would secure a majority in Parliament. The nature of prerogative, by which the liberties of the nation had formerly been often endangered, was now so well understood, and so securely restrained, that it could no longer be used for the same oppressive purposes: besides, an avowed extension of the prerogative required more ability, courage, and resolution, than the present ministry could exert. They understood their own strength, and had recourse to a more safe and effectual expedient. The vice, luxury, and prostitution of the age, the almost total extinction of sentiment, honour, and public spirit, had prepared the minds of men for slavery and corruption. The means were in the hands of the ministry; the public treasure was at their devotion: they multiplied places and pensions, to increase the number of their dependents: they squandered away the money of the nation without taste, discernment, decency, or remorse: they inlisted an army of the most abandoned emissaries, whom they employed to vindicate the worst measures, in the face of truth, common sense, and common honesty; and they did not fail to stigmatize as Jacobites,

and enemies to the government, all those who presumed to question the merit of their administration.

CHARACTERS OF THE PRINCIPAL PERSONS CONCERNED IN THE MINISTRY.

The supreme direction of affairs was not yet engrossed by a single minister. Lord Townshend had the reputation of conducting the external transactions relating to treaties and negotiations. He is said to have understood that province, though he did not always follow the dictates of his own understanding. He possessed an extensive fund of knowledge; and was well acquainted with the functions of his office. The Duke of N. his colleague, was not remarkable for any of these qualifications: he owed his promotion to his uncommon zeal for the illustrious house of Hanover, and to the strength of his interest in Parliament, rather than to his judgment, precision, or any other intellectual merit. Lord C. who may be counted an auxiliary, though not immediately concerned in the administration, had distinguished himself in the character of envoy at several courts in Europe. He had attained an intimate knowledge of all the different interests and connexions subsisting among the powers of the Continent; and he infinitely surpassed all the ministers in learning and capacity. He was, indeed, the only man of genius employed under this government. He spoke with ease and propriety; his conceptions were just and lively; his inferences bold, his counsels vigorous and warm. Yet he depreciated his talents, by acting in a subordinate character to those whom he despised; and seemed to look upon the pernicious measures of a bad ministry with silent contempt rather than with avowed detestation. The interior government of Great Britain was chiefly managed by Sir Robert W. a man of extraordinary talents, who had from low beginnings raised

himself to the head of the treasury. Having obtained a seat in the Lower House, he declared himself one of the most forward partisans of the whig faction. He was endued with a species of eloquence, which, though neither nervous nor elegant, flowed with great facility, and was so plausible on all subjects, that even when he misrepresented the truth, whether from ignorance or design, he seldom failed to persuade that part of his audience for whose hearing his harangue was chiefly intended. He was well acquainted with the nature of the public funds, and understood the whole mystery of stock-jobbing. This knowledge produced a connexion between him and the money-corporations, which served to enhance his importance. He perceived the bulk of mankind were actuated by a sordid thirst of lucre; he had sagacity enough to convert the degeneracy of the times to his own advantage; and on this, and this alone, he founded the whole superstructure of his subsequent administration. In the late reign he had, by dint of speaking decisively to every question, by boldly impeaching the conduct of the tory ministers, by his activity in elections, and engaging as a projector in the schemes of the monied interest, become a leading member in the House of Commons. By his sufferings under the tory Parliament, he attained the rank of a martyr to his party: his interest, his reputation, and his presumption daily increased: he opposed Sunderland as his rival in power, and headed a dangerous defection from the ministry, which evinced the greatness of his influence and authority. He had the glory of being principally concerned in effecting a reconciliation between the late king and the Prince of Wales: then he was re-associated in the administration with additional credit; and, from the death of the Earls of Sunderland and Stanhope, he had been making long strides towards the office of prime minister. He knew the maxims he had adopted would subject him to the hatred, the ridicule, and reproach of

some individuals, who had not yet resigned all sentiments of patriotism, nor all views of opposition; but the number of these was inconsiderable, when compared to that which constituted the body of the community; and he would not suffer the consideration of such antagonists to come in competition with his schemes of power, affluence, and authority. Nevertheless, low as he had humbled anti-ministerial association, it required all his artifice to elude, all his patience and natural phlegm to bear, the powerful arguments that were urged, and the keen satire that was exercised against his measures and management, by a few members in the opposition. Sir William Wyndham possessed all the energy of elocution: Mr. Shippen was calm, intrepid, shrewd, and sarcastic: Mr. W. P. inherited from nature a good understanding, which he had studiously cultivated. He was one of the most learned members in the House of Commons, extremely well qualified to judge of literary productions; well read in history and politics; deeply skilled in the British constitution, the detail of government, and the nature of the finances. He spoke with freedom, fluency, and uncommon warmth of declamation, which was said to be the effect of personal animosity to Sir R. W. with whom he had been formerly connected.

DEBATES IN PARLIAMENT CONCERNING THE CIVIL-LIST.

An express arriving on the fourteenth day of June, with an account of the king's death, his late majesty King George II. repaired from Richmond, where he received this intelligence, to Leicester-house; and the members of the privy-council being assembled, were sworn anew. The king declared his firm purpose to preserve the constitution in church and state, and to cultivate those alliances which his father had made with

foreign princes. At the same time, he took and subscribed the oath for the security of the church of Scotland, as required by the act of union. Next day he was proclaimed King of Great Britain. The Parliament assembled in pursuance of the act made for that purpose; but was immediately prorogued by commission to the twenty-seventh day of the month. All the great officers of state continued in their places: Sir Robert Walpole kept possession of the treasury; and the system of politics which the late king had established underwent no sort of alteration. The king, in his speech to both Houses at the opening of the session, professed a fixed resolution to merit the love and affection of his people, by maintaining them in the full enjoyment of their religious and civil rights. He promised to lessen the public expense as soon as the circumstances of affairs would permit: he observed to the Commons, that the grant of the greatest part of the civil-list revenues was now determined; and that it would be necessary for them to make a new provision for the support of him and his family: lastly, he recommended it to both Houses to despatch the business that should be necessarily brought before them, as the season of the year and the circumstances of time required their presence in the country. Addresses of condolence and congratulation being drawn up and presented, the Commons, in a committee of the whole House, took into consideration a motion for a supply to his majesty. Sir Robert Walpole, having observed that the annual sum of seven hundred thousand pounds granted to and settled on the late king had fallen short every year, and that his present majesty's expenses were likely to increase, by reason of the largeness of his family, moved, that the entire revenues of the civil-list, which produced about eight hundred thousand pounds per annum, should be settled on the king during his life. Mr. Shippen opposed this motion, as inconsistent with the trust re-

posed in them as representatives of the people, who ought to be very frugal in exercising the right of giving away the public money. He said the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds was not obtained for his late majesty without a long and solemn debate; and every member who contended for it at that time allowed it to be an ample royal revenue: that, although his majesty's family should be enlarged, a circumstance which had been urged as one reason for the motion, he presumed the appointments of Prince Frederick would be much inferior to those settled on his present majesty when he was Prince of Wales: besides, it was to be hoped that many personal, many particular expenses in the late reign, especially those for frequent journeys to Hanover, would be discontinued, and entirely cease. He observed, that the civil-list branches in the queen's reign did not often exceed the sum of five hundred and fifty thousand pounds: nevertheless, she called upon her Parliament but once, in a reign of thirteen years, to pay the debts contracted in her civil government; and these were occasioned by the unparalleled instances of her piety and generosity. She gave the firstfruits and tenths, arising to nineteen thousand pounds a year, as an augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy. She bestowed five thousand pounds per annum out of the post-office on the Duke of Marlborough: she suffered seven hundred pounds to be charged weekly on the same office for the service of the public: she expended several hundred thousand pounds in building the castle of Blenheim: she allowed four thousand pounds annually to Prince Charles of Denmark: she sustained great losses by the tin contract: she supported the poor Palatines: she exhibited many other proofs of royal bounty: and immediately before her death she had formed a plan of retrenchment, which would have reduced her yearly expenses to four hundred and fifty-nine thousand nine hundred and forty-one pounds. He affirmed, that a

million a year would not be sufficient to carry on the exorbitant expenses so often and so justly complained of in the House of Commons: that, over and above the yearly allowance of seven hundred thousand pounds, many occasional taxes, many excessive sums were raised, and all sunk in the bottomless gulf of secret service. Two hundred and fifty thousand pounds were raised in defiance of the ancient parliamentary methods, to secure the kingdom from a Swedish invasion: then the two insurance-offices were erected, and paid near three hundred thousand pounds for their charters: our enmity with Sweden being changed into alliance, a subsidy of seventy-two thousand pounds was implicitly granted, to fulfil some secret engagements with that crown; four-and-twenty thousand pounds were given for burning merchant ships arrived from infected places, though the goods, which ought to have been destroyed for the public safety, were afterwards privately sold: a sum of five hundred thousand pounds was demanded, and granted, for paying the debts of the civil-list; and his majesty declared, by message, he was resolved to retrench his expenses for the future. Notwithstanding this resolution, in less than four years, a new demand of the like sum was made and granted, to discharge new incumbrances: the Spanish ships of war which Admiral Byng took in the Mediterranean were sold for a considerable sum of money: one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds were granted in the last session, to be secretly disposed of for the public utility; and there was still a debt in the civil government, amounting to above six hundred thousand pounds. He took notice, that this amazing extravagance happened under the conduct of persons pretending to surpass all their predecessors in the knowledge and care of the public revenue; that as none of these sums had been accounted for, they were, in all probability, employed in services not fit to be owned. He said, he heartily wished that time, the

great discoverer of hidden truths and concealed iniquities, might produce a list of all such as had been perverted from their public duty by private pensions; who had been the hired slaves and the corrupt instruments of a profuse and vain-glorious administration. He proposed, that instead of granting an addition to the civil-list, they should restrict that revenue to a certain sum, by concluding the question with these words, "in like manner as they were granted and continued to his late majesty, so as to make up the clear yearly sum of seven hundred thousand pounds." To these particulars, which were indeed unanswerable, no reply was made. Even this mark of decency was laid aside as idle and superfluous. The House agreed to the motion; and a bill was brought in for the better support of his majesty's household. The Commons, having received a message from the king, desiring they would make a further provision for the queen his consort, resolved, that in case she should survive his majesty, the sum of one hundred thousand pounds should be settled upon her for life, charged upon the revenues of the civil-list, together with his majesty's palace of Somerset-house, and Richmond Old-park. A bill was formed on this resolution, which, as well as the other, passed both Houses; and received the royal assent on the seventeenth day of July, when the king, in a speech to both Houses, expressed his satisfaction with their conduct; and congratulated them upon the wealth and glory of the nation, by which they had acquired such weight in holding the balance of Europe. Then the lord chancellor prorogued the Parliament to the twenty-ninth day of August; but on the seventh of that month a proclamation was issued for dissolving this, and convoking another.

In the interim, some changes were made in different departments of civil economy. Lord Viscount Torrington was placed at the head of the Admiralty: the Earl

of Westmoreland was appointed first lord-commissioner of trade and plantations. Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, a nobleman remarkable for his wit, eloquence, and polished manners, was nominated ambassador to the Hague. The privy-council being dissolved, another was appointed of the members then present. The Duke of Devonshire was dignified with the place of president; and the Duke of St. Albans was appointed master of the horse. On the eleventh day of October the coronation of the king and queen was performed at Westminster-Abbey, with the usual solemnity[a]. By this time the courts of France and Spain were perfectly reconciled: all Europe was freed from the calamities of war: and the peace of Great Britain suffered no interruption, except from some transient tumults among the tinners of Cornwall, who, being provoked by a scarcity of corn, rose in arms and plundered the granaries of that county.

NEW PARLIAMENT.

The elections in England and Scotland for the Parliament having succeeded on the new system according to the wishes of the ministry, the two Houses met on the twenty-third day of January, when the Commons unanimously chose for their speaker Arthur Onslow, esquire, knight of the shire for Surrey, a gentleman of extensive knowledge, worth, and probity; grave, eloquent, venerable, and every way qualified for the discharge of that honourable and important office. The king, in his speech to this new Parliament, declared,

[a] King George II. ascended the throne in the forty-fourth year of his age. On the second day of September, 1705, he espoused the Princess Wilhelmina Charlotte Caroline, daughter to John Frederick, Marquis of Brandenburgh Anspach, by whom he had two sons, Frederick Louis, Prince of Wales, born at Hanover, on the thirty-first day of January, 1707, and William Augustus, born at London, on the fifteenth day of April, 1721. She had likewise borne four princesses, namely, Anne, Amelia, Caroline, Mary, and was afterwards delivered of Louisa, married in the sequel to the King of Denmark.

that by the last advices from abroad, he had reason to hope the difficulties which had hitherto retarded the execution of the preliminaries, and the opening of the congress, would soon be entirely removed: in the mean time he represented the absolute necessity of continuing the preparation which had hitherto secured the nation, and prevented an open rupture in Europe. He promised, that his first care should be to reduce, from time to time, the expense of the public, as often, and as soon as the interest and safety of his people would permit such reduction. He expressed an earnest desire of seeing the foundation laid of an effectual scheme for the increase and encouragement of seamen in general, that they might be invited rather than compelled into the service of their country. Finally, he recommended unanimity, zeal, and despatch of the public business. Those speeches, penned by the minister, were composed with a view to soothe the minds of the people into an immediate concurrence with the measures of the government; but without any intention of performing those promises of economy, reformation, and national advantage. The two Houses seemed to vie with each other in expressions of applause and affection to his majesty. The Lords, in their address, hailed him as the best of kings, and the true father of his country. The Commons expressed the warmest sense of gratitude for the blessings they enjoyed in his reign, though it was not yet eight months old. They approved of all his transactions; promised to support him in all his undertakings; and declared they would cheerfully grant whatever supplies should be wanted for the public service. Having considered the estimates which were laid before them by order of his majesty, they voted two-and-twenty thousand nine hundred and fifty-five men for guards and garrisons; and fifteen thousand seamen for the service of the ensuing year. They granted two hundred and thirty thousand nine hundred and twenty-

three pounds for the maintenance of twelve thousand Hessian troops; a subsidy of fifty thousand pounds to the King of Sweden; and half that sum to the Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel[b]. The expense of the year amounted to four millions, raised by a land-tax of three shillings in the pound, a malt-tax, and by borrowing of the bank one million seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds, for which annuities to the amount of seventy thousand pounds, to be raised by duties on coals imported into the city of London, were granted to that corporation.

VIOLENT DISPUTE CONCERNING THE NATIONAL DEBT.

All these sums, however, were not granted without question. The number of land-forces occasioned a debate; and the Hessian auxiliaries were not allowed without dispute and opposition. When they deliberated on the loan of the bank, Mr. W. Pulteney observed, that the shifting of funds was but perpetuating taxes, and putting off the evil day: that notwithstanding the great merit which some persons had built on the sinking fund, it appeared that the national debt had been increased since the setting up that pompous project. Some warm altercation passed between him and Sir Robert Walpole on this subject. The lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, presented a petition, setting forth, that the duties already laid upon coals and culm, imported into London, affected the trade of that city only; that the inequality of the burden was a great discouragement to their manufactures, and a hardship upon all the trading inhabitants. The pe-

[b] Nothing could be a greater burlesque upon the negotiation than this treaty of alliance concluded with the petty Duke of Wolfenbuttel, who very gravely guarantees to his Britannic majesty the possession of his three kingdoms, and obliges himself to supply his majesty with five thousand men, in consideration of an annual subsidy of five-and-twenty thousand pounds for four years.

tition was rejected, and the tax imposed. The House having addressed the king for a particular and distinct account of the distribution of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, charged to have been issued for securing the trade and navigation of the kingdom, and preserving and restoring the peace of Europe, he declined granting their request, but signified in general, that part of the money had been issued and disbursed by his late majesty, and the remainder by himself, for carrying on the same necessary services, which required the greatest secresy. Such a message in the reign of King William would have raised a dangerous flame in the House of Commons. Mr. W. Pulteney inveighed against such a vague and general way of accounting for the public money, as tending to render Parliaments altogether insignificant, to cover embezzlements, and to screen corrupt and rapacious ministers. The Commons having taken into consideration the state of the national debt, examined the accounts, and interrogated the proper officers. A motion was made by a court member, that it appeared the monies already issued and applied towards discharging the national debts, together with a sum to be issued at Lady-day, amounted to six millions six hundred and forty-eight thousand seven hundred and sixty-two pounds, five shillings, one penny, one farthing. In vain did the leaders of the opposition expose the fallacious tendency of this motion. In vain did they demonstrate the fraudulent artifice used in drawing up the accounts: the motion was carried; and several resolutions were taken on the state of the national debts. In the particular account of these debts, upon which the House resolved to form a representation to his majesty, an article of three hundred thousand pounds relating to the duty upon wrought plate was totally omitted. This extraordinary omission being discovered, gave rise to a very warm debate, and to very severe reflections against those who superintended the

public accounts. This error being rectified, a committee appointed for the purpose drew up the representation, containing a particular detail of the national debts discharged and incurred since the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen, with a state of the sinking fund and of the public credit. The draft, being approved by the House, was presented to the king, who received it graciously. He took this opportunity of saying, that the provision made for gradually discharging the national debts was now become so certain and considerable, that nothing but some unforeseen event could alter or diminish it: a circumstance that afforded the fairest prospect of seeing the old debts discharged without any necessity of incurring new incumbrances.

This answer, fraught with many other expressions of fatherly tenderness for his people, paved the way for a message to the House, demanding a vote of credit to fulfil certain engagements entered into, and concerted, with the advice and concurrence of the last Parliament, for securing the trade and navigation of the kingdom, and for restoring and preserving the peace of Europe. Though a debate ensued upon this message, the majority resolved, that an address should be presented to his majesty, declaring the duty and fidelity of the Commons, their entire confidence in his royal care and goodness, and their readiness to enable his majesty to fulfil his engagements. A vote of credit passed accordingly. During this session, the Peers were chiefly employed in examining copies of several treaties and alliances which the king submitted to their perusal; they likewise prepared a bill for amending the statute of limitation, which, however, did not pass into a law: they considered the state of the national debt, a subject fruitful of debates; they passed the mutiny bill, and those that were sent up from the Commons, touching the supplies; together with an act, obliging ships ar-

riving from infected places to perform quarantine; and some others of a more private nature. These bills having received the royal assent, the king closed the session on the twenty-eighth day of May, when he thanked the Commons for the effectual supplies they had raised, and in particular, for having empowered him to borrow five hundred thousand pounds for the discharge of wages due to the seamen employed in the navy.

A DOUBLE MARRIAGE BETWEEN THE HOUSES OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

England was at this period quite barren of remarkable events. The king's uncle, Ernest Augustus, Prince of Brunswick, Duke of York, and Bishop of Osnabruck, died on the third day of August, and was succeeded in the bishopric by the Elector of Cologne, according to the pactum by which Osnabruck is alternately possessed by the house of Brunswick and that elector. In the beginning of December, his majesty's eldest son, Prince Frederick, arrived in England from Hanover, where he had hitherto resided, was introduced into the privy-council, and created Prince of Wales. Signior Como, resident from the Duke of Parma, was ordered to quit the kingdom, because his master paid to the pretender the honours due to the King of Great Britain. The congress opened at Soissons, for determining all disputes among the powers of Europe, proved ineffectual. Such difficulties occurred in settling and reconciling so many different pretensions and interests, that the contracting parties in the alliance of Hanover proposed a provisional treaty, concerning which no definitive answer was given as yet by the courts of Vienna and Madrid. The fate of Europe, therefore, continued in suspense: the English fleet lay inactive and rotting in the West Indies; the sailors perished miserably, without daring to avenge their country's wrongs; while

the Spanish cruisers committed depredations with impunity on the commerce of Great Britain. The court of Spain, at this juncture, seemed cold and indifferent with regard to a pacification with England. It had renewed a good understanding with France, and now strengthened its interest by a double alliance of marriage with the royal family of Portugal. The infanta of this house was betrothed to the Prince of Asturias; while the Spanish infanta, formerly affianced to the French king, was now matched with the Prince of Brazil, eldest son of his Portuguese majesty. In the month of January, the two courts met in a wooden house built over the little river Coya, that separates the two kingdoms, and there the princesses were exchanged.

LIBERALITY OF THE COMMONS.

The Parliament of Great Britain meeting according to their last prorogation on the twenty-first day of January, the king in his speech communicated the nature of the negotiation at the congress. He demanded such supplies as might enable him to act vigorously in concert with his allies, provided his endeavours to establish an advantageous peace should miscarry; and he hinted that the dilatory conduct of the courts of Vienna and Madrid proceeded in a great measure from the hopes that were given of creating discontents and divisions among the subjects of Great Britain. This suggestion was a ministerial artifice to inflame the zeal and resentment of the nation, and intimidate the members in the opposition. Accordingly the hint was pursued, and in the addresses from both Houses, that could not fail of being agreeable, considering the manner in which they were dictated, particular notice was taken of this article: both Peers and Commons expressed their detestation and abhorrence of those who, by such base and unnatural

artifices, suggested the means of distressing their country, and clamoured at the inconveniences which they themselves had occasioned. In these addresses, likewise, the Parliament congratulated his majesty on the arrival of the Prince of Wales in his British dominions; and the Commons sent a particular compliment to his royal highness on that occasion. The estimates having been examined in the usual form, the House voted fifteen thousand seamen for the ensuing year; but the motion for continuing the same number of land-forces which had been allowed in the preceding year was not carried without dispute. All the arguments against a standing army in time of peace, as inconsistent with the British constitution, and dangerous to the liberties of the people, were repeated with great vivacity by Mr. Shippen and Mr. W. Pulteney. These, however, were answered, and represented as absurd, by Mr. Horatio Walpole and Mr. D. two stanch adherents of the minister. The first had, in despite of nature, been employed in different negotiations: he was blunt, awkward, and slovenly; an orator without eloquence, an ambassador without dignity, and a plenipotentiary without address. The other had natural parts and acquired knowledge; spoke with confidence; and in dispute was vain, sarcastic, petulant, and verbose.

DEBATES ON THE SUBSIDIES OF HESSE-CASSEL AND WOLFENBUTTEL.

The subsidies to Sweden, Hesse-Cassel, and Wolfenbuttel, were continued, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr. Lutwyche, and Mr. Pulteney; which last observed, that as the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel, usually maintained a certain number of troops in their pay, it was but reasonable that Great Britain should defray no more than the expense of the addi-

tional forces which those powers had raised in consequence of their conventions with the King of England. Sir Robert Walpole perceiving that this remark made an impression on the House, thought it necessary to vindicate his measure. He expatiated upon the wisdom of the late king, in concluding the Hanover alliance. He affirmed, that the convention with Hesse-Cassel had prevented a war in the empire, for which the court of Vienna had made great preparations: that the emperor had not only augmented his own forces by the help of Spanish subsidies, but also retained the troops of three electors; and if he had not been overawed by the Hessians, would certainly have rejected the preliminaries, and all other advances towards a pacification: that, therefore, they ought not to grudge an expense which had already proved so beneficial to the tranquillity of Europe. Sir Joseph Jekyll replied, that whatever gloss might be put upon such measures, they were repugnant to the maxims by which England in former times had steered and squared its conduct with relation to its interest abroad: that the navy was the natural strength of Great Britain—its best defence and security; but if, in order to avoid a war, they should be so free-hearted as to buy and maintain the forces of foreign princes, they were never like to see an end of such extravagant expenses. This gentleman, who exercised the office of master of the rolls, had approved himself a zealous defender of whig principles, was an able lawyer, a sensible speaker, and a conscientious patriot. The supplies were raised by a continuation of the land-tax, the duties upon malt, cyder, and perry, an additional imposition on unmalted corn used in distilling, and by sale of annuities to the bank not exceeding fifty thousand pounds per annum.

COMMITTEE FOR INSPECTING THE GAOLS.

Petitions were delivered to the House of Commons from the merchants of London, Liverpool, and Bristol, complaining of the interruptions they had suffered in their trade for several years, by the depredations of the Spaniards in the West Indies. These being considered, the House ordered the Lords of the Admiralty to produce the other memorials of the same kind which they had received, that they might be laid before the congress at Soissons: then they addressed his majesty for copies of all the letters and instructions which had been sent to Admiral Hosier, and those who succeeded him in the command of the West India squadron. Mr. Oglethorpe having been informed of shocking cruelties and oppressions exercised by gaolers upon their prisoners, moved for an examination into these practices, and was chosen chairman of a committee appointed to inquire into the state of the gaols of the kingdom. They began with the Fleet-prison, which they visited in a body: there they found Sir William Rich, baronet, loaded with irons, by order of Bambridge the warden, to whom he had given some slight cause of offence. They made a discovery of many inhuman barbarities, which had been committed by that ruffian, and detected the most iniquitous scenes of fraud, villany, and extortion. When the report was made by the committee, the House unanimously resolved, that Thomas Bambridge, acting warden of the Fleet, had wilfully permitted several debtors to escape; had been guilty of the most notorious breaches of trust, great extortions, and the highest crimes and misdemeanours in the execution of his office; that he had arbitrarily and unlawfully loaded with irons, put into dungeons, and destroyed prisoners for debt, under his charge, treating them in the most barbarous and cruel manner, in high violation and contempt of

the laws of the kingdom. John Huggins, esquire, who had been warden of the Fleet-prison, was subjected to a resolution of the same nature. The House presented an address to the king, desiring he would direct his attorney-general forthwith to prosecute these persons and their accomplices, who were committed prisoners to Newgate. A bill was brought in, disabling Bambridge to execute the office of warden; another for the better regulating the prison of the Fleet, and for more effectually preventing and punishing arbitrary and illegal practices of the warden of the said prison[c].

ADDRESS TOUCHING THE SPANISH DEPREDATIONS.

Other merchants complained by petition of the losses sustained by the Spaniards. The House, in a grand committee, deliberated on this subject, inquired into the particulars, examined evidence, and drew up an address to the king, desiring his majesty would be graciously pleased to use his utmost endeavours for preventing such depredations; for procuring just and reasonable satisfaction; and for securing to his subjects the free exercise of commerce and navigation to and from the British colonies in America. The king assured them he would use his best endeavours to answer the desires and expectations of his people, in an affair of so much importance; and they, in another address, thanked him for his gracious answer. They did not, however, receive such a satisfactory reply to a former address, touching the sum of sixty thousand pounds that had been stated in the public account, without specification of the particular uses to which it was applied. His majesty gave them to understand that the money had

[c] It afterwards appeared that some of the members of this inquest were actuated by other motives than those they professed; and the committee was suffered to sink into oblivion.

been issued and disbursed for secret services; and that a distinct and particular account of the distribution of it could not be given without a manifest prejudice to the public. A bill was prepared for the more effectual preventing bribery and corruption in elections for members of Parliament; and it passed through the House without opposition; but their attention was chiefly employed upon the Spanish depredations, which had raised a great clamour through the whole kingdom, and excited very warm disputes in Parliament; for they were generally reputed the fruits of negligence, incapacity, or want of vigour in the ministers. The Commons having made further progress in the inquiry, and received fresh petitions from the merchants, passed some resolutions, in which the Spaniards were accused of having violated the treaties subsisting between the two crowns; and with having treated inhumanly the masters and crews of ships belonging to Great Britain. They justified the instructions given to Admiral Hosier, to seize and detain the flota and galleons of Spain, until justice and satisfaction should be rendered to his majesty and his allies; nay, even declared that such seizure would have been just, prudent, and necessary, tending to prevent an open rupture, and to preserve the peace and tranquillity of Europe. They again addressed the king to use his endeavours to procure satisfaction; and he promised to comply with their request.

Mr. Scroope, member for Bristol, moved for an address entreating his majesty to order an account of the produce of the civil-list revenues for one year to be laid before the House. The address was presented, the account produced, and the House, in a grand committee, took this affair into consideration. The courtiers affirmed that they fell short of the eight hundred thousand pounds settled upon his majesty; and Mr. Scroope proposed that the sum of one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds should be granted to the king on account

of those deficiencies and arrears. The motion was vigorously opposed by Mr. Pulteney and other members. They expressed their surprise that it should be made so late in the session, when no further demand of money could be reasonably expected; and they said it was the more extraordinary, because it appeared in the former session, from the examination of the accounts then before the House, that the revenues of the civil-list produced yearly a much greater sum than that for which they were given. Mr. Pulteney moved, that the accounts and papers should be referred to the examination of a select committee, properly empowered to investigate the truth. The ministers opposed this motion; and the question being put, it passed in the negative. The majority voted the sum demanded; and in a bill for settling the price of imported corn, they inserted the resolution for granting to his majesty the sum of one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds, on account of arrears due on the civil-list revenues.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

The House of Lords having prepared a bill for the more effectual punishment of forgery, which was passed into a law, and ordered the judges to bring in another on the report of a committee appointed to consider the case of imprisoned debtors, at length deliberated upon the state of the nation, particularly the positive demand made by the court of Spain for the restitution of Gibraltar, grounded in a letter written by the late king to his catholic majesty. From a copy of the letter laid before the House, it plainly appeared that King George I. had consented to this restitution. A motion being made for a resolution, importing, that for the honour of his majesty, and the preservation and security of the trade and commerce of the kingdom, effectual care should be taken in the present treaty that the King

of Spain should renounce all claim and pretension to Gibraltar and Minorca, in plain and strong terms: a debate ensued, and the question being put, passed in the negative, though not without a protest. Then the majority resolved, that the House did entirely rely upon his majesty, that he would, for maintaining the honour and securing the trade of this kingdom, take effectual care in the present treaty to preserve his undoubted right to Gibraltar and Minorca. When the House examined the papers relating to the Spanish depredations, many severe reflections were uttered against the conduct of the ministry; and a motion was made, to resolve that Hosier's expedition was an unreasonable burden on the nation: but this too was rejected, and occasioned another protest. Nor did the clause in the corn bill, for granting one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds to his majesty, pass through the House of Peers without warm opposition. Divers lords alleged, that, instead of a deficiency in the civil-list revenues, there was a considerable surplus; that this was a new grant, and a new burden on the people; that the nation was loaded, not to complete, but to augment the sum designed for the civil-list; and this at a time when the public debts were increased; when the taxes were heavily felt in all parts of the country; when the foreign trade of Britain was encumbered and diminished; when her manufactures were decayed, her poor multiplied, and she was surrounded by many other national calamities. They observed, that if the produce of the civil-list revenue should not amount to the yearly sum of eight hundred thousand pounds, the deficiency must be made good to his majesty by the public; whereas no provision was made, by which, if the produce of these revenues should exceed that sum, the surplus could accrue to the benefit of the public: that, by this precedent, not only real deficiencies were to be made good, but also supplies were to be given for arrears standing

out at the end of the year, which should come on before the supplies could be granted, though the supply given to make good arrears in one year would certainly increase the surplusages in another: that the revenues of the civil-list were variable in their own nature; and even when there is a deficiency in the produce, there might be arrears in the receipt: these might be easily increased by the management of designing ministers, by private directions to receivers, and by artful methods of stating accounts. All these arguments, and other objections equally strong and plausible, against this unconscionable and unparliamentary motion, served only to evince the triumph of the ministry over shame and sentiment, their contempt of public spirit, and their defiance of the national reproach[d].

WISE CONDUCT OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT.

The king had, on the twenty-fourth day of March, given the royal assent to five bills; and on the fourteenth day of May, the same sanction was given to thirty other bills, including an act, enabling the queen to be regent in the kingdom during his majesty's absence, without taking the oaths, and another for the relief of insolvent debtors. At the same time two-and-thirty private bills were passed: then the king expressed his approbation of the Parliament, signified his intention of visiting his German dominions, and ordered the chancellor to prorogue both Houses. His majesty having appointed the queen regent of the realm, set out for Hanover, on the seventeenth day of May, in order to remove a petty misunderstanding which had happened between that electorate and the court of Berlin. Some Hanoverian subjects had been pressed or decoyed into the service of

[d] The peers that distinguished themselves in the opposition were, Beaufort, Strafford, Craven, Foley, Lichfield, Scarsdale, Gower, Mountjoy, Plymouth, Bathurst, Northampton, Coventry, Oxford and Mortimer, Willoughby de Broke, Boyle, and Warrington.

Prussia; and the regents of Hanover had seized certain Prussian officers, by way of reprisal. The whole united kingdom of Great Britain at this juncture enjoyed uninterrupted repose; and commerce continued to increase, in spite of all restriction and discouragement. The people of Ireland found themselves happy under the government of Lord Carteret; and their Parliament, assembling in the month of September, approved themselves the fathers of their country. They established funds for the discharge of their national debt, and for maintaining the expense of government; they enacted wholesome laws for the encouragement of manufactures, trade, and agriculture; and they formed wise regulations in different branches of civil economy. Some time after this session, which was conducted with so much harmony and patriotism, Lord Carteret returned to England, and was succeeded by the Duke of Dorset in the government of that kingdom. In the month of May, Charles Lord Townshend resigned the seals, which were given to Colonel Stanhope, now created Earl of Harrington; so that Sir R. W. now reigned without a rival. James Earl of Waldegrave was appointed ambassador to the court of France, which, about that time, was filled with joy by the birth of a dauphin.

ABDICATION OF THE KING OF SARDINIA. DEATH OF POPE BENEDICT XIII.

In the month of September, Victor Amadeus, King of Sardinia, resigned his crown to his son Charles Emanuel, Prince of Piedmont. The father reserved to himself a revenue of one hundred thousand pistoles per annum, retired to the castle of Chamberry, and espoused the Countess Dowager of St. Sebastian, who declined the title of queen, but assumed that of Marchioness of Somerive. Though the congress at Soissons proved

abortive, conferences were begun at Seville between the plenipotentiaries of England, France, and Spain; and a treaty was concluded on the ninth day of November, not only without the concurrence of the emperor, but even contrary to his right, as established by the quadruple alliance. On this subject he communicated an imperial commissorial decree to the states of the empire assembled in the diet at Ratisbon, which was answered by the French minister de Chavigny. In October, Peter II. Czar of Muscovy, and grandson of Peter I. died in the fifteenth year of his age, at Moscow, and was succeeded on the Russian throne by the Princess Anne Ivanowna, second daughter of John Alexowitz, elder brother of the first Peter, and widow of Frederick William Duke of Courland. The following month was rendered remarkable by the death of Pope Benedict XIII. in whose room Cardinal Laurence Corsini was raised to the pontificate, and assumed the name of Clement XII.

SUBSTANCE OF THE KING'S SPEECH TO BOTH HOUSES.

The British Parliament assembling on the thirteenth day of January, the king gave them to understand, that the peace of Europe was now established by the treaty of Seville, built upon the foundation of former treaties, and tending to render more effectual what the contracting powers in the quadruple alliance were before engaged to see performed. He assured them that all former conventions made with Spain in favour of the British trade and navigation were renewed and confirmed: that the free, uninterrupted exercise of their commerce was restored: that the court of Spain had agreed to an ample restitution and reparation for unlawful seizures and depredations: that all rights, privileges, and possessions, belonging to him and his allies, were solemnly re-established, confirmed, and guaranteed;

and that not one concession was made to the prejudice of his subjects. He told them he had given orders for reducing a great number of his land-forces, and for laying up great part of the fleet; and observed that there would be a considerable saving in the expense of the current year. After both Houses had presented their addresses of thanks and congratulation to the king on the peace of Seville, the Lords took that treaty into consideration, and it did not pass inquiry without severe animadversion.

OBJECTIONS TO THE TREATY OF SEVILLE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Lords in the opposition excepted to the article by which the merchants of Great Britain were obliged to make proof of their losses at the court of Spain. They said this stipulation was a hardship upon British subjects, and dishonourable to the nation: that few would care to undertake such a troublesome and expensive journey, especially as they had reason to apprehend their claims would be counterbalanced by the Spaniards; and, after all, they would have no more than the slender comfort of hoping to obtain that redress by commissaries which they had not been able to procure by plenipotentiaries. They thought it very extraordinary that Great Britain should be bound to ratify and guarantee whatever agreement should be made between the King of Spain and the Duke of Parma and Tuscany, concerning the garrisons once established in their countries; that the English should be obliged to assist in effectuating the introduction of six thousand Spanish troops into the towns of Tuscany and Parma, without any specification of the methods to be taken, or the charge to be incurred in giving that assistance; that they should guarantee for ever, not only to Don Carlos, but even to all his successors, the possession of the estates of Tuscany and Parma; a

stipulation which in all probability would involve Great Britain in endless quarrels and disputes, about a country with which they had no concern. They affirmed that the treaty of Seville, instead of confirming other treaties, was contradictory to the quadruple alliance, particularly in the article of introducing Spanish troops into Tuscany and Parma, in the room of neutral forces stipulated by the former alliance; and agreeing that they should there remain until Don Carlos and his successors should be secure and exempt from all events. They complained that these alterations, from the tenor of the quadruple alliance, were made without the concurrence of the emperor, and even without inviting him to accede; an affront which might alienate his friendship from England, and hazard the loss of such an ancient, powerful, and faithful ally: they declared that throughout the whole treaty there seemed to be an artful omission of any express stipulation, to secure Great Britain in her right to Gibraltar and Minorca. Such was the substance of the objections made to the peace: then Lord Bathurst moved for a resolution, that the agreement on the treaty of Seville, to secure the succession of Don Carlos to the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, with Spanish troops, was a manifest violation of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, tending to involve the nation in a dangerous and expensive war, and to destroy the balance of power in Europe. The question was put, and the motion rejected. Such too was the fate of two other motions, to resolve that Great Britain's right of sovereignty, dominion, possession, and claim to Gibraltar and Minorca were not ascertained by the treaty of Seville; and that the stipulations in that treaty for repairing the losses of the British merchants were insufficient and precarious. The majority, far from stigmatizing this transaction, resolved, that the treaty did contain all necessary stipulations for maintaining and securing the honour, dignity, rights, and

possessions of the crown: that all due care was taken therein for the support of the trade of the kingdom, and for repairing the losses sustained by the British merchants. On these resolutions an address of approbation was founded; but when a motion was made for an address to his majesty, that he would order to be laid before the House a list of all pensions payable to the crown, it was immediately resolved in the negative. Divers contests of the same kind arose upon the mutiny bill, the pension bill, and the maintenance of the twelve thousand Hessians; but the ministry bore down all opposition, though their triumphs were clogged with vigorous protests, which did not fail to make impression upon the body of the people.

OPPOSITION IN THE LOWER HOUSE TO A STANDING ARMY.

Nor was the success of the court interest in the House of Commons altogether pure, and free from exception and dispute. When the charge of the land-forces fell under the consideration of the Commons, and Mr. Henry Pelham, secretary at war, moved that the number of effective men for the land-service of the ensuing year should be fixed at seventeen thousand seven hundred and nine, Mr. Pulteney insisted upon its being reduced to twelve thousand. Mr. Shippen affirmed, that Mr. Pelham's motion was a flat negative to the address for which he voted on the first day of the session, as it plainly implied a distrust of the validity of the late treaty, which he then assured the House would immediately produce all the blessings of an absolute peace, and deliver the kingdom from the apprehensions and inconveniences of a war. He said the motion tended directly towards the establishment of an army in Great Britain, which he hoped would never be so far Germanized, as tamely to submit to a military government. He

observed, that the nation could have no occasion for all the troops that were demanded, considering the glorious scene of affairs which was now opened to all Europe. "They are not necessary (said he) to awe Spain into a firm adherence to its own treaty; they are not necessary to force the emperor into an immediate accession; nor are they in any sort necessary for the safety of his majesty's person and government. Force and violence are the resort of usurpers and tyrants only; because they are, with good reason, distrustful of the people whom they oppress; and because they have no other security for the continuance of their unlawful and unnatural dominion than what depends entirely on the strength of their armies." The motion, however, was carried in the affirmative.

BILL PROHIBITING LOANS TO FOREIGN PRINCES OR STATES.

Another warm debate was excited by a bill which the courtiers brought in, to prevent any subjects of Great Britain from advancing sums of money to foreign princes or states, without having obtained licence from his majesty, under his privy-seal, or some great authority. The minister pretended that this law was proposed to disable the emperor, who wanted to borrow a great sum of the English merchants, from raising and maintaining troops to disturb the tranquillity of Europe. The bill contained a clause, empowering the king to prohibit by proclamation all such loans of money, jewels, or bullion: the attorney-general was empowered to compel, by English bill, in the court of exchequer, the effectual discovery, on oath, of any such loans; and it was enacted, that in default of an answer to any such bill the court should decree a limited sum against the person refusing to answer. Mr. Daniel Pulteney, a gentleman of uncommon talents and ability, and particularly acquainted

with every branch of commerce, argued strenuously against this bill, as a restraint upon trade that would render Holland the market of Europe, and the mart of money to the nations of the Continent. He said that by this general prohibition, extending to all princes, states, or potentates, the English were totally disabled from assisting their best allies: that among others, the King of Portugal frequently borrowed money of the English merchants residing within his dominions: that while the licensing power remained in the crown, the licences would be issued through the hands of the minister, who by this new trade might gain twenty, thirty, or forty thousand a year: that the bill would render the exchequer a court of inquisition; and that whilst it restrained our merchants from assisting the princes and powers of Europe, it permitted our stock-jobbers to trade in their funds without interruption. Other arguments of equal weight were enforced by Mr. Barnard, a merchant of London, who perfectly understood trade in all its branches, spoke with judgment and precision, and upon all occasions steadily adhered to the interest and liberties of his country. After having explained his reasons, he declared he should never consent to a bill which he deemed a violation of our fundamental laws, a breach of our dearest liberties, and a very terrible hardship on mankind. Sir William Wyndham distinguished himself on the same side of the question: the bill was vindicated by Sir Robert Walpole, Mr. Pelham, and Sir Philip York, attorney-general; and being supported by the whole weight of ministerial influence, not only passed through the House, but was afterwards enacted into a law.

CHARTER OF THE EAST-INDIA COMPANY PROLONGED.

The subsidies were continued to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and the Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel, in spite of all that could be urged against these extraneous encumbrances; and the supply for the ensuing year was granted according to the estimates which the ministry thought proper to produce, amounting to about two millions two hundred and eighty thousand pounds. It must be owned, however, for the credit of this session, that the House appropriated one million of the surpluses arising from the sinking fund towards the discharge of the national debt; and by another act extinguished the duties upon salt, by which expedient the subject was eased of a heavy burden, not only in being freed from the duty, but also from a considerable charge of salaries given to a great number of officers employed to collect this imposition. They likewise encouraged the colony of Carolina with an act, allowing the planters and traders of that province to export rice directly to any part of Europe southward of Cape Finisterre; and they permitted salt from Europe to be imported into the colony of New York. The term of the exclusive trade granted by act of Parliament to the East India company drawing towards a period, many considerable merchants and others made application for being incorporated and vested with the privilege of trading to those countries, proposing to lay that branch of trade open to all the subjects of Great Britain on certain conditions. In consideration of an act of Parliament for this purpose, they offered to advance three millions two hundred thousand pounds, for redeeming the fund and trade of the present East India company. This proposal was rejected; and the exclusive privilege vested in the company was, by act of Parliament, protracted to the year

one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, upon the following conditions: that they should pay into the exchequer the sum of two hundred thousand pounds towards the supplies of the year, without interest or addition to their capital stock: that the annuity or yearly fund of one hundred and sixty thousand pounds, payable to them from the public, should be reduced to one hundred and twenty-eight thousand: that after the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, their right to the exclusive trade should be liable to be taken away by Parliament, on three years' notice, and repayment of their capital.

THE EMPEROR RESENTS THE TREATY OF SEVILLE.

On the fifteenth day of May the king went to the House of Peers, and closed the session. In his speech he expressed his joy, that notwithstanding all the clamours which were raised, the Parliament had approved of those matters which fell under their consideration; a circumstance which, he said, could not fail to inspire all mankind with a just detestation of those incendiaries, who, by scandalous libels, laboured to alienate the affections of his people; to fill their minds with groundless jealousies and unjust complaints, in dishonour of him and his government, and in defiance of the sense of both Houses of Parliament[e]. The emperor was so much incensed at the insult offered him in the treaty of Seville, with respect to the garrisons of Tuscany and Parma, that he prohibited the subjects of Great Britain

[e] In the course of this session the Commons passed a bill for making more effectual the laws in being, for disabling persons from being chosen members of Parliament who enjoyed any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years, or any offices holden in trust for them, by obliging all persons hereafter to be chosen to serve for the Commons in Parliament, to take the oath therein mentioned. In all probability this bill would not have made its way through the House of Commons, had not the minister been well assured it would stick with the Upper House, where it was rejected at the second reading, though not without violent opposition.

from trading in his dominions: he began to make preparations for war, and actually detached bodies of troops to Italy, with such despatch as had been very seldom exerted by the house of Austria. Yet the article of which he complained was not so much a real injury as an affront put upon the head of the empire; for the eventual succession to those Italian duchies had been secured to the infant, Don Carlos, by the quadruple alliance; and all that the emperor required was, that this prince should receive the investiture of them as fiefs of the empire.

SEVEN INDIAN CHIEFS ARRIVE IN ENGLAND. REVOLUTION AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

In Great Britain, this year was not distinguished by any transaction of great moment. Seven chiefs of the Cherokee nations of Indians in America were brought to England by Sir Alexander Cumin. Being introduced to the king, they laid their crown and regalia at his feet; and by an authentic deed acknowledged themselves subjects to his dominion, in the name of all their compatriots, who had vested them with full powers for this purpose. They were amazed and confounded at the riches and magnificence of the British court: they compared the king and queen to the sun and moon, the princes to the stars of heaven, and themselves to nothing. They gave their assent in the most solemn manner to articles of friendship and commerce, proposed by the lords commissioners for trade and plantations; and being loaded with presents of necessaries, arms, and ammunition, were reconveyed to their own country, which borders on the province of South Carolina. In the month of September a surprising revolution was effected at Constantinople, without bloodshed or confusion. A few mean janissaries displayed a flag in the streets, exclaiming that all true Mussulmen ought to follow them, and

assist in reforming the government. They soon increased to the number of one hundred thousand, marched to the seraglio, and demanded the grand vizir, the kiaja, and captain pacha. These unhappy ministers were immediately strangled. Their bodies being delivered to the insurgents were dragged through the street, and afterwards thrown to the dogs to be devoured. Not contented with this sacrifice, the revolters deposed the Grand Signior Achmet, who was confined to the same prison from whence they brought his nephew Machmut, and raised this last to the throne, after he had lived seven-and-twenty years in confinement.

England was at this period infested with robbers, assassins, and incendiaries, the natural consequences of degeneracy, corruption, and the want of police in the interior government of the kingdom. This defect, in a great measure, arose from an absurd notion, that laws necessary to prevent those acts of cruelty, violence, and rapine, would be incompatible with the liberty of British subjects; a notion that confounds all distinctions between liberty and brutal licentiousness, as if that freedom was desirable, in the enjoyment of which people find no security for their lives or effects. The peculiar depravity of the times was visible even in the conduct of those who preyed upon the commonwealth. Thieves and robbers were now become more desperate and savage than ever they had appeared since mankind was civilized. In the exercise of their rapine, they wounded, maimed, and even murdered the unhappy sufferers, through a wantonness of barbarity. They circulated letters demanding sums of money from certain individuals, on pain of reducing their houses to ashes, and their families to ruin; and even set fire to the house of a rich merchant in Bristol, who had refused to comply with their demand. The same species of villany was practised in different parts of the kingdom; so that the government was obliged to interpose, and offer a consi-

derable reward for discovering the ruffians concerned in such execrable designs.

BILL AGAINST PENSIONERS SITTING AS MEMBERS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In the speech with which the king opened the session of Parliament on the twenty-first day of January, he told them, that the present critical conjuncture seemed in a very particular manner to deserve their attention: that as the transactions then depending in the several courts of Europe were upon the point of being determined, the great event of peace or war might be very much affected by their first resolutions, which were expected by different powers with great impatience. He said, the continuance of that zeal and vigour with which they had hitherto supported him and his engagements must at this time be of the greatest weight and importance, both with regard to his allies, and to those who might be disposed, before the season of action, to prevent, by an accommodation, the fatal consequences of a general rupture. The former scene was repeated. Both Houses, in their addresses, promised to support his majesty in all his engagements; yet the members in the opposition demonstrated the absurdity of promising to fulfil engagements before they could possibly know whether or not they were for the service of Great Britain. Another bill was brought into the House of Commons, to prevent pensioners from sitting as members of Parliament; and after a third reading, carried up to the Lords for their concurrence. When the supply fell under consideration, the debates were renewed upon the subsidies to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and the Duke of Wolfenbuttel, which, however, were continued; and every article was granted according to the estimates given in for the expense of the ensuing year. Two petitions being presented to the

Commons, representing the delays of justice, occasioned by the use of the Latin tongue in proceedings at law, a bill was brought in for changing this practice, and enacting that all those processes and pleadings should be entered in the English language. Though one would imagine that very little could be advanced against such a regulation, the bill met with warm opposition, on pretence that it would render useless the ancient records which were written in that language, and introduce confusion and delay of justice, by altering the established form and method of pleading: in spite of these objections, it passed through both Houses, and obtained the royal assent. A great number of merchants from different parts of the kingdom having repeated their complaints of depredations and cruelties committed by the Spaniards in the West Indies, their petitions were referred to the consideration of a grand committee. Their complaints upon examination appeared to be well founded. The House presented an address to the king, desiring his majesty would be graciously pleased to continue his endeavours to prevent such depredations for the future; to procure full satisfaction for the damages already sustained; and to secure to the British subjects the full and uninterrupted exercise of their trade and navigation to and from the British colonies in America. The bill against pensions produced a warm debate in the House of Lords, where it was violently opposed by the Dukes of Newcastle and Argyle; the Earl of Ilay, and Dr. Sherlock, Bishop of Bangor. This prelate, in a remarkable speech, represented it as a scheme to enlarge the power of the House of Commons, and to break the balance between the powers essential to the constitution, so as, sooner or later, to prove the ruin of the whole. The great barrier providing against bribery and corruption by this bill consisted in an oath to be imposed on all members of the Lower House, by which they must have solemnly

sworn and declared, that they had not directly, nor indirectly, any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years, or any office in part or in the whole, held for them, or for their benefit, by any persons whatsoever; and that they would not accept any such pensions or offices, without signifying the same to the House within fourteen days after they should be received or accepted. The bill was vindicated as just and necessary by the Earls of Winchelsea and Strafford, Lord Bathurst, and Lord Carteret, who had by this time joined as an auxiliary in the opposition[f].

TREATY OF VIENNA.

The House of Peers proceeded to consider the state of the national debt: they read a bill for the free importation of wool from Ireland into England, which was fiercely opposed and laid aside, contrary to all the rules of sound policy. They passed the bill for carrying on proceedings at law in the English language; and a fruitless motion was made by Lord Bathurst for an address, to desire his majesty would give directions for discharging the Hessian troops that were in the pay of Great Britain. On the seventh day of May the Parliament was prorogued, after the king had given them to understand, that all apprehensions of war were now happily removed by a treaty signed at Vienna between him and the emperor. He said it was communicated to the courts of France and Spain, as parties to the treaty of Seville, the execution of which it principally regarded; and that it was likewise submitted to the consideration of the States-General. He observed, that the conditions and engagements into which he had entered on this occasion were agreeable to that necessary concern which the British nation must always have for the security and preservation of the balance of power in

[f] See note [C], vol. vi.

Europe; and that this happy turn, duly improved with a just regard to former alliances, yielded a favourable prospect of seeing the public tranquillity re-established.

DEATH OF THE DUKE OF PARMA.

In the month of January the Duke of Parma died, after having made a will in which he declared his duchess was three months advanced in her pregnancy; entreating the allied powers of Europe to have compassion upon his people, and defer the execution of their projects until his consort should be delivered. In case the child should be still-born, or die after the birth, he bequeathed his dominions and allodial estates to the infant Don Carlos of Spain, and appointed five regents to govern the duchy. Notwithstanding this disposition, a body of imperial troops immediately took possession of Parma and Placentia, under the command of General Stampa, who declared they should conduct themselves with all possible regularity and moderation, and leave the administration entirely to the regents whom the duke had appointed They publicly proclaimed in the market-place, that they took possession of these duchies for the infant Don Carlos; and that if the duchess-dowager should not be delivered of a prince, the said infant might receive the investiture from the emperor whenever he would, provided he should come without an army. Though these steps seemed to threaten an immediate war, the King of Great Britain and the States-General interposed their mediation so effectually with the court of Vienna, that the emperor desisted from the prosecution of his design; and on the sixteenth day of March concluded at Vienna a treaty with his Britannic majesty, by which he consented to withdraw his troops from Parma and Placentia. He agreed, that the King of Spain might take possession of these places in favour of his son Don Carlos, accord-

ing to the treaty of Seville. He likewise agreed, that the Ostend company, which had given such umbrage to the maritime powers, should be totally dissolved, on condition that the contracting powers concerned in the treaty of Seville should guarantee the pragmatic sanction, or succession of the Austrian hereditary dominions to the heirs female of the emperor, in case he should die without male issue. The Dutch minister residing at the imperial court did not subscribe this treaty, because, by the maxims received in that republic, and the nature of her government, he could not be vested with full powers so soon as it would have been necessary; nevertheless the States-General were, by a separate article, expressly named as a principal contracting party.

DON CARLOS TAKES POSSESSION OF HIS TERRITORIES.

On the twenty-second day of July a new treaty was signed at Vienna between the emperor and the Kings of Great Britain and Spain, tending to confirm the former. In August a treaty of union and defensive alliance between the electorates of Saxony and Hanover was executed at Dresden. The court of Spain expressing some doubts with regard to the pregnancy of the Duchess of Parma, she underwent a formal examination by five midwives of different nations, in presence of the elder duchess dowager, several ladies of quality, three physicians, and a surgeon; and was declared with child: nevertheless, after having kept all Europe in suspense for six months, she owned she had been deceived; and General Stampa, with the imperial forces, took formal possession of the duchies of Parma and Placentia. Spain and the Great Duke of Tuscany having acceded to the last treaty of Vienna, the crown of Great Britain engaged to equip an armament that

should convoy Don Carlos to his new dominions. Accordingly, Sir Charles Wager sailed with a strong squadron from Portsmouth on the twenty-sixth day of August; and in September arrived at Barcelona, where, being joined by the Spanish fleet and transports, they sailed together to Leghorn; from whence the admiral returned to England. Don Carlos passed through part of France, and embarking at Antibes on board of the Spanish galleys, arrived at Leghorn in December. Then the imperial general withdrew his forces into the Milanese, and the infant took possession of his new territories.

FRANCE DISTRACTED BY RELIGIOUS DISPUTES.

During these transactions France was distracted by religious disputes, occasioned by the bull Unigenitus thundered against the doctrines of Jansenius; a bull which had produced a schism in the Gallican church, and well nigh involved that country in civil war and confusion. It was opposed by the Parliaments and lay tribunals of the kingdom; but many bishops, and the jesuits in general, were its most strenuous assertors. All the artifices of priestcraft were practised on both sides to inflame the enthusiasm, and manage the superstition, of the people. Pretended miracles were wrought at the tomb of Abbé Paris, who had died without accepting the bull, consequently was declared damned by the abettors of that constitution. On the other hand, the jesuits exerted all their abilities and industry in preaching against the Jansenists; in establishing an opinion of their superior sanctity; and inspiring a spirit of quietism among their votaries, who were transported into the delirium of possession, illumination, and supernatural converse. These arts were often used for the most infamous purposes. Female enthusiasts were

wrought up to such a violence of agitation, that nature fainted under the struggle, and the pseudo-saint seized this opportunity of violating the chastity of his penitent. Such was said to be the case of Mademoiselle la Cadiere, a young gentlewoman of Toulon, abused in this manner by the lust and villany of Pere Girard, a noted jesuit, who underwent a trial before the Parliament of Aix, and very narrowly escaped the stake.

THE MINISTRY VIOLENTLY OPPOSED IN PARLIAMENT.

The Parliament of Great Britain meeting on the thirteenth day of January, the king in his speech declared, that the general tranquillity of Europe was restored and established by the last treaty of Vienna; and Don Carlos was actually possessed of Parma and Placentia: that six thousand Spaniards were quietly admitted and quartered in the duchy of Tuscany, to secure, by the express consent and agreement of the great duke, the reversion of his dominions; and that a family convention was made between the courts of Spain and Tuscany, for preserving mutual peace and friendship in the two Houses. He told the Commons, that the estimates for the service of the current year would be considerably less than those of former years. He recommended unanimity: he observed that his government had no security but what was equally conducive to their happiness, and to the protection of his people: that their prosperity had no foundation but in the defence and support of his government. "Our safety," said he, "is mutual, and our interests are inseparable." The opposition to the court measures appears to have been uncommonly spirited during the course of this session. The minister's motions were attacked with all the artillery of elocution. His principal emissaries were obliged to task their faculties to

their full exertion, to puzzle and perplex where they could not demonstrate and convince, to misrepresent what they could not vindicate, and to elude the arguments which they could not refute. In the House of Commons Lord Hervey, lately appointed vice-chamberlain of his majesty's household, made a motion for an address of thanks, in which they should declare their entire approbation of the king's conduct, acknowledge the blessings they enjoyed under his government, express their confidence in the wisdom of his councils, and declare their readiness to grant the necessary supplies. This member, son to the Earl of Bristol, was a nobleman of some parts, which, however, were more specious than solid. He condescended to act as a subaltern to the minister, and approved himself extremely active in forwarding all his designs, whether as a secret emissary or public orator; in which last capacity he appears to have been pert, frivolous, and frothy. His motion was seconded by Mr. Clutterbuck, and opposed by Sir Wilfred Lawson, Mr. Shippen, Mr. W. Pulteney, Sir William Wyndham, and Mr. Oglethorpe. They did not argue against a general address of thanks; but exposed the absurdity and bad tendency of expressions which implied a blind approbation of all the measures of the ministry. Sir Wilfred Lawson observed, that notwithstanding the great things we had done for the crown of Spain, and the favours we had procured for the royal family of that kingdom, little or no satisfaction had as yet been received for the injuries our merchants had sustained from that nation. Mr. Pulteney took notice, that the nation, by becoming guarantee to the pragmatic sanction, laid itself under an obligation to assist the Austrian family when attacked by any potentate whatever, except the grand signior: that they might be attacked when it would be much against the interest of the kingdom to engage itself in a war upon any foreign account: that it might

one day be for the interest of the nation to join against them, in order to preserve the balance of Europe, the establishing of which had already cost England such immense sums of money. He insisted upon the absurdity of concluding such a number of inconsistent treaties; and concluded with saying, that if affairs abroad were now happily established, the ministry which conducted them might be compared to a pilot, who, though there was a clear, safe, and straight channel into port, yet took it in his head to carry the ship a great way about, through sands, rocks, and shallows; who, after having lost a great number of seamen, destroyed a great deal of tackle and rigging, and subjected the owners to an enormous expense, at last by chance hits the port, and triumphs in his good conduct. Sir William Wyndham spoke to the same purpose. Mr. Oglethorpe, a gentleman of unblemished character, brave, generous, and humane, affirmed that many other things related more nearly to the honour and interest of the nation than did the guarantee of the pragmatic sanction. He said he wished to have heard that the new works at Dunkirk had been entirely razed and destroyed: that the nation had received full and complete satisfaction for the depredations committed by the natives of Spain: that more care was taken in disciplining the militia, on whose valour the nation must chiefly depend in case of invasion; and that some regard had been shown to the oppressed Protestants in Germany. He expressed his satisfaction to find that the English were not so closely united to France as formerly; for he had generally observed, that when two dogs were in a leash together, the stronger generally ran away with the weaker; and this he was afraid had been the case between France and Great Britain. The motion was vigorously defended by Mr. Pelham, paymaster of the forces, and brother to the Duke of Newcastle, a man whose greatest fault was his being concerned in supporting the

measures of a corrupt ministry. In other respects he was liberal, candid, benevolent, and even attached to the interest of his country, though egregiously mistaken in his notions of government. On this occasion he asserted that it was no way inconsistent with the honour or dignity of that House to thank his majesty in the most particular terms for every thing he had been pleased to communicate in his speech from the throne: that no expressions of approbation in the address could be any way made use of to prevent an inquiry into the measures which had been pursued, when the treaties should be laid before the House. He said, at the opening of a session the eyes of all Europe were turned towards Great Britain, and from the Parliament's first resolves all the neighbouring powers judged of the unanimity that would ensue between his majesty and the representatives of his people: that their appearing jealous or diffident of his majesty's conduct would weaken his influence upon the councils of foreign states and potentates, and perhaps put it out of his power to rectify any false step that might have been made by his ministers. His arguments were reinforced by a long speech from Mr. H. Walpole. The question was put, the motion carried, and the address presented.

DEBATE ON A STANDING ARMY.

The next subject of debate was the number of land-forces. When the supply fell under consideration, Sir W. Strickland, secretary at war, moved that the same number which had been maintained in the preceding year should be continued in pay. On the other hand, Lord Morpeth, having demonstrated the danger to which the liberties of the nation might be exposed, by maintaining a numerous standing army in time of peace, made a motion that the number should be reduced to twelve thousand. A warm debate ensuing, was ma-

naged in favour of the first motion by Lord Hervey, Sir Robert Walpole, and his brother, Mr. Pelham, and Sir Philip Yorke, attorney-general. This gentleman was counted a better lawyer than a politician, and shone more as an advocate at the bar than as an orator in the House of Commons. The last partisan of the ministry was Sir William Yonge, one of the lords commissioners of the treasury; a man who rendered himself serviceable and necessary, by stooping to all compliances, running upon every scent, and haranguing on every subject with an even, uninterrupted, tedious flow of dull declamation, composed of assertions without veracity, conclusions from false premises, words without meaning, and language without propriety. Lord Morpeth's motion was espoused by Mr. Watkin Williams Wynne, a gentleman of an ancient family and opulent fortune in Wales, brave, open, hospitable, and warmly attached to the ancient constitution and hierarchy; he was supported by Mr. Walter Plumer, who spoke with weight, precision, and severity, by Sir W. Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, Mr. W. Pultency, and Mr. Barnard. The courtiers argued that it was necessary to maintain such a number of land-forces as might defeat the designs of malcontents, secure the interior tranquillity of the kingdom, defend it from external assaults, overawe its neighbours, and enable it to take vigorous measures in case the peace of Europe should be re-embroiled. They affirmed, the science of war was so much altered, and required so much attention, that no dependence was to be placed upon a militia: that all nations were obliged to maintain standing armies, for their security against the encroachments of neighbouring powers: that the number of troops in Great Britain was too inconsiderable to excite the jealousy of the people even under an ambitious monarch: that his majesty never entertained the least thought of infringing the liberties of his subjects: that it could not be supposed that the officers,

among whom were many gentlemen of family and fortune, would ever concur in a design to enslave their country; and that the forces now in pay could not be properly deemed a standing army, inasmuch as they were voted and maintained from year to year by the Parliament, which was the representative of the people. To these arguments the members in the opposition replied, that a standing force in time of peace was unconstitutional, and had been always thought dangerous: that a militia was as capable of discipline as a standing army, and would have more incentives to courage and perseverance: that the civil magistrate was able to preserve the peace of the country: that the number of the malcontents was altogether contemptible, though it might be considerably augmented by maintaining a standing army, and other such arbitrary measures: that other nations had been enslaved by standing armies; and howsoever they might find themselves necessitated to depend upon a military force for security against encroaching neighbours, the case was very different with regard to Great Britain, for the defence of which nature had provided in a peculiar manner: that this provision was strengthened and improved by a numerous navy, which secured her dominion on the sea; and, if properly disposed, would render all invasion impracticable, or at least ineffectual: that the land-army of Great Britain, though sufficient to endanger the liberties of an unarmed people, could not possibly secure such an extent of coast, and therefore could be of very little service in preventing an invasion: that though they had all imaginable confidence in his majesty's regard for the liberty of his subjects, they could not help apprehending, that should a standing army become part of the constitution, another prince of more dangerous talents, and more fatal designs, might arise and employ it for the worst purposes of ambition: that though many officers were gentlemen of honour and probity, these

might be easily discarded, and the army gradually moulded into a quite different temper. By these means, practised in former times, an army had been new modelled to such a degree, that they turned their swords against the Parliament, for whose defence they had been raised, and destroyed the constitution both in church and state: that with respect to its being wholly dependent on the Parliament, the people of England would have reason to complain of the same hardship, whether a standing army should be declared at once indispensable, or regularly voted from year to year, according to the direction of the ministry: that the sanction of the legislature, granted to measures which in themselves are unconstitutional, burdensome, odious, and repugnant to the genius of the nation, instead of yielding consolation, would serve only to demonstrate, that the most effectual method of forging the chains of national slavery would be that of ministerial influence operating upon a venal Parliament. Such were the reasons urged against a standing army, of what number soever it might be composed: but the expediency of reducing the number from about eighteen thousand to twelve thousand was insisted upon as the natural consequence of his majesty's declaration, by which they were given to understand that the peace of Europe was established; and that he had nothing so much at heart as the ease and prosperity of his people. It was suggested, that if eighteen thousand men were sufficient on the supposed eve of a general war in Europe, it was surely reasonable to think that a less number would suffice when peace was perfectly re-established. Whatever effect these reasons had upon the body of the nation, they made no converts in the House, where the majority resolved that the standing army should be maintained without reduction. Mr. Plumer complained, that the country was oppressed by an arbitrary method of quartering soldiers, in an undue proportion, upon those publicans who refused to vote

in elections according to the direction of the ministry. Mr. Pulteney asserted, that the money raised for the subsistence of eighteen thousand men in England would maintain sixty thousand French or Germans, or the same number of almost any other people on the Continent. Sir William Wyndham declared, that eighteen thousand of the English troops in the late war were maintained on less than two-thirds of the sum now demanded for the like number: but no regard was paid to these allegations.

ACCOUNT OF THE CHARITABLE CORPORATION.

The next object of importance that attracted the notice of the House was the state of the Charitable Corporation. This company was first erected in the year one thousand seven hundred and seven. Their professed intention was to lend money at legal interest to the poor, upon small pledges; and to persons of a better rank upon an indubitable security of goods impawned. Their capital was at first limited to thirty thousand pounds; but, by licences from the crown, they increased it to six hundred thousand pounds, though their charter was never confirmed by act of Parliament. In the month of October, George Robinson, esquire, member for Marlow, the cashier, and John Thompson, warehouse-keeper of the corporation, disappeared in one day. The proprietors, alarmed at this incident, held several general courts, and appointed a committee to inspect the state of their affairs. They reported, that for a capital of above five hundred thousand pounds no equivalent was found; inasmuch as their effects did not amount to the value of thirty thousand, the remainder having been embezzled by means which they could not discover. The proprietors, in a petition to the House of Commons, represented that by the most notorious

breach of trust in several persons to whom the care and management of their affairs were committed, the corporation had been defrauded of the greatest part of their capital; and that many of the petitioners were reduced to the utmost degree of misery and distress: they, therefore, prayed, that as they were unable to detect the combinations of those who had ruined them, or to bring the delinquents to justice, without the aid of the power and authority of Parliament, the House would vouchsafe to inquire into the state of the corporation and the conduct of their managers, and give such relief to the petitioners as to the House should seem meet. The petition was graciously received, and a secret committee appointed to proceed on the inquiry. They soon discovered a most iniquitous scene of fraud, which had been acted by Robinson and Thompson, in concert with some of the directors, for embezzling the capital, and cheating the proprietors. Many persons of rank and quality were concerned in this infamous conspiracy: some of the first characters in the nation did not escape suspicion and censure. Sir Robert Sutton and Sir Archibald Grant were expelled the House of Commons, as having had a considerable share in those fraudulent practices: a bill was brought in to restrain them and other delinquents from leaving the kingdom, or alienating their effects. In the mean time, the committee received a letter from Signior John Angelo Belloni, an eminent banker at Rome, giving them to understand, that Thompson was secured in that city, with all his papers, and confined to the castle of St. Angelo; and that the papers were transmitted to his correspondent at Paris, who would deliver them up, on certain conditions stipulated in favour of the prisoner. This letter was considered as an artifice to insinuate a favourable opinion of the pretender, as if he had taken measures for securing Thompson, from his zeal for justice, and affection for the English people. On this supposition,

the proposals were rejected with disdain; and both Houses concurred in an order that the letter should be burned at the Royal Exchange, by the hands of the common hangman. The Lower House resolved, that it was an insolent and audacious libel, absurd and contradictory; that the whole transaction was a scandalous artifice, calculated to delude the unhappy, and to disguise and conceal the wicked practices of the professed enemies to his majesty's person, crown, and dignity.

REVIVAL OF THE SALT TAX.

No motion, during this session, produced such a warm contest as did that of Sir Robert Walpole, when, after a long preamble, he proposed that the duties on salt, which about two years before had been abolished, should now be revived, and granted to his majesty, his heirs, and successors, for the term of three years. In order to sweeten this proposal, he declared that the land-tax for the ensuing year should be reduced to one shilling in the pound. All the members of the country party were immediately in commotion. They expressed their surprise at the grossness of the imposition. They observed that two years had scarce elapsed since the king, in a speech from the throne, had exhorted them to abolish some of the taxes that were the most burdensome to the poor: the House was then of opinion, that the tax upon salt was the most burdensome and the most pernicious to the trade of the kingdom, of all the impositions to which the poor were subjected, and therefore it was taken off; but that no good reason could be produced for altering their opinion so suddenly, and resolving to grind the faces of the poor, in order to ease a few rich men of the landed interest. They affirmed, that the most general taxes are not always the least burdensome: that after a nation is obliged to extend their taxes farther than the luxuries of their coun-

try, those taxes that can be raised with the least charge to the public are the most convenient and easiest to the people; but they ought carefully to avoid taxing those things which are necessary for the subsistence of the poor. The price of all necessaries being thus enhanced, the wages of the tradesman and manufacturer must be increased; and where these are high, the manufacturers will be undersold by those of cheaper countries. The trade must of consequence be ruined; and it is not to be supposed that the landed gentleman would choose to save a shilling in the pound from the land-tax, by means of an expedient that would ruin the manufactures of his country, and decrease the value of his own fortune. They alleged that the salt-tax particularly affected the poor, who could not afford to eat fresh provisions; and that, as it formerly occasioned murmurs and discontents among the lower class of people, the revival of it would, in all probability, exasperate them into open sedition. They observed, that while it was exacted in England, a great number of merchants sent their ships to Ireland, to be victualled for their respective voyages; that, since it had been abolished, many experiments had been successfully tried with salt for the improvement of agriculture, which would be entirely defeated by the revival of this imposition. They suggested that the land-tax was raised at a very small expense, and subject to no fraud, whereas that upon salt would employ a great number of additional officers in the revenue, wholly depending upon the ministry, whose influence in elections they would proportionably increase. They even hinted, that this consideration was one powerful motive for proposing the revival of an odious tax, which was in effect an excise, and would be deemed a step towards a general excise upon all sorts of provisions. Finally, they demonstrated that the salt-tax introduced numberless frauds and perjuries in different articles of traffic. Sir Robert Walpole endea-

voured to obviate all these objections in a long speech, which was minutely answered and refuted in every article by Mr. Pulteney. Nevertheless, the question being put, the minister's motion was carried in the affirmative, and the duty revived: yet, before the bill passed, divers motions were made, and additional clauses proposed, by the members in the opposition. New debates were raised on every new objection, and the courtiers were obliged to dispute their ground by inches.

MR. PULTENEY'S NAME STRUCK OUT OF THE LIST OF PRIVY-COUNSELLORS.

The pension bill was revived, and for the third time rejected in the House of Lords. A bill for the encouragement of the sugar colonies passed through the Lower House with great difficulty, but was lost among the Peers: another, for the better securing the freedom of Parliaments, by further qualifying members to sit in the House of Commons, was read the third time, and thrown out upon the question. A committee had been appointed to inquire into a sale of the estate which had belonged to the late Earl of Derwentwater. It appeared by the report, that the sale had been fraudulent: a bill was prepared to make it void: Dennis Bond, esquire, and Serjeant Birch, commissioners for the sale of the forfeited estates, were declared guilty of notorious breach of trust, and expelled the House, of which they were members: George Robinson, esquire, underwent the same sentence, on account of the part he acted in the Charitable Corporation, as he and Thompson had neglected to surrender themselves, according to the terms of a bill which had passed for that purpose. During this session, five members of Parliament were expelled for the most sordid acts of knavery; a sure sign of national degeneracy and dishonour. All the supplies were granted, and, among other articles, the

sum of two-and-twenty thousand six hundred and ninety-four pounds, seven shillings, and sixpence, for the agio or difference of the subsidies payable to the crown of Denmark, in pursuance of the treaty subsisting between the late king and that monarch; but this was not obtained without a violent dispute. Mr. Pulteney, who bore a considerable share in all these debates, became in a little time so remarkable as to be thought worthy of a very particular mark of his majesty's displeasure. The king, on the first day of July, called for the council-book, and with his own hand struck the name of William Pulteney, esquire, out of the list of privy-counsellors; his majesty further ordered him to be put out of all the commissions of the peace. The several lord lieutenants, from whom he had received deputations, were commanded to revoke them; and the lord chancellor and secretaries of state were directed to give the necessary orders for that purpose.

THE KING SETS OUT FOR HANOVER.

Nor did the House of Peers tamely and unanimously submit to the measures of the ministry. The pension bill being read, was again rejected, and a protest entered. A debate arose about the number of standing forces: and the Earl of Chesterfield argued for the court motion. The Earl of Oxford moved that they might be reduced to twelve thousand effective men. The Earl of Winchelsea observed, that a standing army rendered ministers of state more daring than otherwise they would be, in contriving and executing projects that were grievous to the people: schemes that never could enter into the heads of any but those who were drunk with excess of power. The Marquis of Tweedale, in reasoning against such a number as the ministry proposed, took occasion to observe, that not one shilling of the forfeited estates was ever applied to the use of the public: he likewise

took notice, that the eighteen thousand men, demanded as a standing force, were modelled in such a manner, that they might be speedily augmented to forty thousand men on any emergency. The Duke of Argyle endeavoured to demonstrate the danger of depending for the safety of the kingdom upon an undisciplined militia, a fleet, or an army of auxiliaries. Then he represented the necessity of having recourse to a regular army in case of invasion; and after all acknowledged, that the number proposed was no way sufficient for that purpose. All his arguments were answered and refuted in an excellent speech by Lord Carteret: nevertheless, victory declared for the minister. The Parliament having granted every branch of the supply, towards the payment of which they borrowed a sum from the sinking-fund, and passed divers other acts for the encouragement of commerce and agriculture, the king, on the first day of June, gave the royal assent to the bills that were prepared, and closed the session, after having informed both Houses that the States-General had acceded to the treaty of Vienna; that he had determined to visit his German dominions, and to leave the queen regent in his absence. He accordingly set out for Hanover in the beginning of June. By this time the pragmatic sanction was confirmed by the diet of the empire, though not without a formal protest by the Electors Palatine, Bavaria, and Saxony.

CHAPTER XVI.

Remarkable Instance of Suicide.—Affairs of the Continent.—Meeting of the Parliament.—Address to the King touching the Spanish Depredations.—The Excise Scheme proposed by Sir Robert Walpole.—Opposition to the Scheme.—Bill for a Dower to the Princess Royal.—Debates in the House of Lords concerning the Estates of the late Directors of the South-Sea Company.—Double Election of a King in Poland.—The Kings of France, Spain, and Sardinia join against the Emperor.—The Prince of Orange arrives in England.—Altercation in the House of Commons.—Debate about the Removal of the Duke of Bolton and Lord Viscount Cobham from their respective Regiments.—Motion for the Repeal of the Septennial Act.—Conclusion of a remarkable Speech by Sir W. Wyndham.—Message from the King for Powers to augment the Forces in the Intervals between the two Parliaments.—Opposition in the House of Peers.—Parliament dissolved.—Dantzic besieged by the Russians.—Philipsburgh taken by the French. Don Carlos takes Possession of Naples.—Battle of Parma.—The Imperialists are again worsted at Guastalla.—An Edict in France compelling the British Subjects in that Kingdom to inlist in the French Army.—New Parliament in Great Britain.—Debate on a Subsidy to Denmark.—Petition of some Scottish Noblemen to the House of Peers.—Bill explaining an Act of the Scottish Parliament touching wrongous Imprisonment.—Misunderstanding between the Courts of Spain and Portugal.—Sir John Norris sails with a strong Squadron to Lisbon.—Preliminaries signed by the Emperor and King of France.—Proceedings in Parliament.—Bill for preventing the Retail of Spirituous Liquors.—Another for the Relief of Quakers in the Article of Tithes.—Mortmain Act.—Remarkable Riot at Edinburgh.—Rupture between the Czarina and the Ottoman Porte.—The Session of Parliament opened by Commission.—Motion in both Houses for a Settlement on the Prince of Wales.—Fierce Debate on this Subject.—Scheme by Sir John Barnard for reducing the Interest of the National Debt.—Bill against the City of Edinburgh.—Playhouse Bill.

REMARKABLE INSTANCE OF SUICIDE.

The most remarkable incident that distinguished this year in England was a very uncommon instance of

George the Second.

Richard Smith, a bookbinder, and prisoner for debt within the liberties of the King's Bench, persuaded his wife to follow his example in making away with herself after they had murdered their little infant. This wretched pair were, in the month of April, found hanging in their bed chamber, at a yard distance from each other.

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suicide; an act of despair so frequent among the English, that in other countries it is objected to them as a national reproach. Though it may be generally termed the effect of lunacy proceeding from natural causes operating on the human body, in some few instances it seems to have been the result of cool deliberation. Richard Smith, a bookbinder, and prisoner for debt within the liberties of the King's Bench, persuaded his wife to follow his example in making away with herself, after they had murdered their little infant. This wretched pair were in the month of April found hanging in their bedchamber, at about a yard's distance from each other; and in a separate apartment the child lay dead in a cradle. They left two papers enclosed in a short letter to their landlord, whose kindness they implored in favour of their dog and cat. They even left money to pay the porter who should carry the enclosed papers to the person for whom they were addressed. In one of these the husband thanked that person for the marks of friendship he had received at his hands; and complained of the ill offices he had undergone from a different quarter. The other paper, subscribed by the husband and wife, contained the reasons which induced them to act such a tragedy on themselves and their offspring. This letter was altogether surprising for the calm resolution, the good humour, and the propriety, with which it was written. They declared, that they withdrew themselves from poverty and rags; evils that, through a train of unlucky accidents, were become inevitable. They appealed to their neighbours for the industry with which they had endeavoured to earn a livelihood. They justified the murder of their child, by saying, it was less cruelty to take her with them, than to leave her friendless in the world, exposed to ignorance and misery. They professed their belief and confidence in an Almighty God, the fountain of goodness and beneficence, who could not possibly take delight in

the misery of his creatures: they, therefore, resigned up their lives to him without any terrible apprehensions; submitting themselves to those ways which, in his goodness, he should appoint after death. These unfortunate suicides had been always industrious and frugal, invincibly honest, and remarkable for conjugal affection.

AFFAIRS OF THE CONTINENT.

Trustees having been appointed by charter to superintend a new settlement in Georgia, situated to the southward of Carolina in America, Mr. Oglethorpe, as general, and governor of the province, embarked at Gravesend, with a number of poor families to plant that colony. The King of Spain having equipped a very powerful armament, the fleet sailed on the fourth day of June from the road of Alicant, under the command of the Count de Montemar, and arrived on the coast of Barbary in the neighbourhood of Oran, where a considerable body of troops was landed without much opposition. Next day, however, they were attacked by a numerous army of Moors, over whom they obtained a complete victory. The bey or governor of Oran immediately retired with his garrison, and the Spaniards took possession of the place, from which they had been driven in the year one thousand seven hundred and eight. The strong fort of Mazalaquivir was likewise surrendered to the victors at the first summons; so that this expedition answered all the views with which it had been projected. Victor Amadæus, the abdicated King of Sardinia, having, at the instigation of his wife, engaged in some intrigues, in order to re-ascend the throne, his son, the reigning king, ordered his person to be seized at Montcalier, and conveyed to Rivoli, under a strong escort. His wife, the Marchioness de Spigno, was conducted to Seva. The old king's confessor, his physician, and eight-and-forty persons of distinction, were

imprisoned. The citadel of Turin was secured with a strong garrison; and new instructions were given to the governor and senate of Chamberri. The dispute which had long subsisted between the King of Prussia and the young Prince of Orange, touching the succession to the estates possessed by King William III. as head of the house of Orange, was at last accommodated by a formal treaty signed at Berlin and Dierin. The Dutch were greatly alarmed about this time with an apprehension of being overwhelmed by an inundation, occasioned by worms, which were said to have consumed the piles and timber-work that supported their dikes. They prayed and fasted with uncommon zeal, in terror of this calamity, which they did not know how to avert in any other manner. At length they were delivered from their fears by a hard frost, which effectually destroyed those dangerous animals. About this time, Mr. Dieden, plenipotentiary from the Elector of Hanover, received, in the name of his master, the investiture of Bremen and Verden from the hands of the emperor.

MEETING OF THE PARLIAMENT.

The history of England at this period cannot be very interesting, as it chiefly consists in an annual revolution of debates in Parliament; debates, in which the same arguments perpetually recur on the same subjects. When the session was opened on the sixteenth day of January, the king declared, that the situation of affairs, both at home and abroad, rendered it unnecessary for him to lay before the two Houses any other reasons for calling them together but the ordinary despatch of the public business, and his desire of receiving their advice in such affairs as should require the care and consideration of Parliament. The motion made in the House of Commons for an address of thanks implied, that they should express their satisfaction at the present situation

of affairs both at home and abroad. The motion was carried, notwithstanding the opposition of those who observed, that the nation had very little reason to be pleased with the present posture of affairs; that the French were employed in fortifying and restoring the harbour of Dunkirk, contrary to the faith of the most solemn treaties; that the British merchants had received no redress for the depredations committed by the Spaniards; that the commerce of England daily decreased; that no sort of trade throve but the traffic of 'Change-alley, where the most abominable frauds were practised; and that every session of Parliament opened a new scene of villany and imposition.

ADDRESS TO THE KING TOUCHING THE SPANISH DEPREDATIONS.

The pension bill was once more revived, and lost again in the House of Peers. All the reasons formerly advanced against a standing army were now repeated; and a reduction of the number insisted upon with such warmth, that the ministerial party were obliged to have recourse to the old phantom of the pretender. Sir Archer Croft said a continuation of the same number of forces was the more necessary, because, to his knowledge, popery was increasing very fast in the country; for, in one parish which he knew, there were seven popish priests; and that the danger from the pretender was the more to be feared, because they did not know but he was then breeding his son a Protestant. Sir Robert Walpole observed, that a reduction of the army was the chief thing wished for and desired by all the Jacobites in the kingdom: that no reduction had ever been made but what gave fresh hopes to that party, and encouraged them to raise tumults against the government; and he did not doubt but that, if they should resolve to reduce any part of the army, there

would be post-horses employed that very night to carry the good news beyond sea to the pretender. His brother Horatio added, that the number of troops then proposed was absolutely necessary to support his majesty's government, and would be necessary as long as the nation enjoyed the happiness of having the present illustrious family on the throne. The futility, the self-contradiction, and the ridiculous absurdity of these suggestions were properly exposed: nevertheless, the army was voted without any reduction. Sir Wilfred Lawson having made a motion for an address to the king, to know what satisfaction had been made by Spain for the depredations committed on the British merchants, it was after a violent debate approved, and the address presented. The king in answer to this remonstrance gave them to understand, that the meeting of the commissioners of the two crowns had been so long delayed by unforeseen accidents, that the conferences were not opened till the latter end of the preceding February: and that as the courts of London and Madrid had agreed that the term of three years stipulated for finishing the commission should be computed from their first meeting, a perfect account of their proceedings could not as yet be laid before the House of Commons. A bill had been long depending for granting encouragement to the sugar colonies in the West Indies; but, as it was founded upon a prohibition that would have put a stop to all commerce between the French islands and the British settlements in North America, it met with a very warm opposition from those who had the prosperity of those northern colonies at heart. But the bill being patronized and supported by the court interest, surmounted all objections; and afterwards passed into a law. While the Commons deliberated upon the supply, Sir Robert Walpole moved, that five hundred thousand pounds should be issued out of the sinking fund for the service of the ensuing year. Sir William

Wyndham, Mr. Pulteney, and Sir John Barnard, expatiated upon the iniquity of pillaging a sacred deposit, solemnly appropriated to the discharge of the national debt. They might have demonstrated the egregious folly of a measure, by which the public, for a little temporary ease, lost the advantage of the accumulating interest which would have arisen from the sinking fund if properly managed and reserved. All objections vanished before the powers of ministerial influence, which nothing now could check but the immediate danger of popular commotion. Such hazardous interposition actually defeated a scheme which had been adopted by the minister, and even before its appearance alarmed all the trading part of the nation.

THE EXCISE SCHEME PROPOSED BY SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

The House having resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate upon the most proper methods for the better security and improvement of the duties and revenues charged upon tobacco and wines, all the papers relating to these duties were submitted to the perusal of the members: the commissioners of the customs and excise were ordered to attend the House, the avenues of which were crowded with multitudes of people; and the members in the opposition waited impatiently for a proposal in which they thought the liberties of their country so deeply interested. In a word, there had been a call of the House on the preceding day. The session was frequent and full; and both sides appeared ready and eager for the contest when Sir Robert Walpole broached his design. He took notice of the arts which had been used to prejudice the people against his plan before it was known. He affirmed that the clamours occasioned by these prejudices had originally risen from smugglers and fraudulent dealers, who had

enriched themselves by cheating the public; and that these had been strenuously assisted and supported by another set of men, fond of every opportunity to stir up the people of Great Britain to mutiny and sedition. He expatiated on the frauds that were committed in that branch of the revenue arising from the duties on tobacco; upon the hardships to which the American planters were subjected by the heavy duties payable on importation, as well as by the ill usage they had met with from their factors and correspondents in England, who, from being their servants, were now become their masters; upon the injury done to the fair trader; and the loss sustained by the public with respect to the revenue. He asserted that the scheme he was about to propose would remove all these inconveniences, prevent numberless frauds, perjuries, and false entries, and add two or three hundred thousand pounds per annum to the public revenue. He entered into a long detail of frauds practised by the knavish dealers in those commodities: he recited the several acts of Parliament that related to the duties on wine and tobacco: he declared he had no intention to promote a general excise: he endeavoured to obviate some objections that might be made to his plan, the nature of which he at length explained. He proposed to join the laws of excise to those of the customs: that the further subsidy of three farthings per pound charged upon imported tobacco should be still levied at the custom-house, and payable to his majesty's civil-list as heretofore: that then the tobacco should be lodged in warehouses, to be appointed for that purpose by the commissioners of the excise: that the keeper of each warehouse, appointed likewise by the commissioners, should have one lock and key, and the merchant-importer have another: and that the tobacco should be thus secured until the merchant should find vent for it, either by exportation or home consumption: that the part designed for exportation should be weighed

at the custom-house, discharged of the three farthings per pound which had been paid at its first importation, and then exported without further trouble: that the portion destined for home consumption should, in presence of the warehouse-keeper, be delivered to the purchaser, upon his paying the inland duty of fourpence per pound weight to the proper officer appointed to receive it; by which means the merchant would be eased of the inconvenience of paying the duty upon importation, or of granting bonds and finding sureties for the payment, before he had found a market for the commodity; that all penalties and forfeitures, so far as they formerly belonged to the crown, should for the future be applied to the use of the public: that appeals in this, as well as in all other cases relating to the excise, should be heard and determined by two or three of the judges, to be named by his majesty; and in the country by the judge of assize upon the next circuit, who should hear and determine such appeals in the most summary manner, without the formality of proceedings in courts of law or equity.

Such was the substance of the famous excise scheme, in favour of which Sir Robert Walpole moved, that the duties and subsidies on tobacco should from and after the twenty-fourth day of June cease and determine. The debate which ensued was managed and maintained by all the able speakers on both sides of the question. Sir Robert Walpole was answered by Mr. Perry, member for the city of London. Sir Paul Methuen joined in the opposition. Sir John Barnard, another representative of London, distinguished himself in the same cause. He was supported by Mr. Pulteney, Sir William Wyndham, and other patriots. The scheme was espoused by Sir Philip Yorke, appointed lord chief justice of the king's bench, and ennobled in the course of the ensuing year. Sir Joseph Jekyll approved of the project, which was likewise strenuously defended by Lord Hervey, Sir

Thomas Robinson, Sir William Yonge, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Winnington, which last excelled all his contemporaries of the ministry in talents and address. Those who argued against the scheme accused the minister of having misrepresented the frauds, and made false calculations. With respect to the supposed hardships under which the planters were said to labour, they affirmed that no planter had ever dreamed of complaining, until instigated by letters and applications from London: that this scheme, far from relieving the planters, would expose the factors to such grievous oppression, that they would not be able to continue the trade, consequently the planters would be entirely ruined; and, after all, it would not prevent those frauds against which it was said to be provided: that from the examination of the commissioners of the customs, it appeared that those frauds did not exceed forty thousand pounds per annum, and might in a great measure be abolished, by a due execution of the laws in being; consequently this scheme was unnecessary, would be ineffectual in augmenting the revenue, destructive to trade, and dangerous to the liberties of the subject, as it tended to promote a general excise, which was in all countries considered as a grievous oppression. They suggested that it would produce an additional swarm of excise-officers and warehouse-keepers, appointed and paid by the treasury, so as to multiply the dependents on the crown, and enable it still further to influence the freedom of elections: that the traders would become slaves to excisemen and warehouse-keepers, as they would be debarred all access to their commodities, except at certain hours, when attended by those officers: that the merchant, for every quantity of tobacco he could sell, would be obliged to make a journey, or send a messenger to the office for a permit, which could not be obtained without trouble, expense, and delay: and that, should a law be enacted in

consequence of this motion, it would in all probability be some time or other used as a precedent for introducing excise laws into every branch of the revenue; in which case the liberty of Great Britain would be no more. In the course of this debate, Sir Robert Walpole took notice of the multitudes which had beset all the approaches to the House. He said it would be an easy task for a designing seditious person to raise a tumult and disorder among them: that gentlemen might give them what name they should think fit, and affirm they were come as humble suppliants; but he knew whom the law called sturdy beggars: and those who brought them to that place could not be certain but that they might behave in the same manner. This insinuation was resented by Sir John Barnard, who observed that merchants of character had a right to come down to the court of requests, and lobby of the House of Commons, in order to solicit their friends and acquaintance against any scheme or project which they might think prejudicial to their commerce: that when he came into the House, he saw none but such as deserved the appellation of sturdy beggars as little as the honourable gentleman himself, or any gentleman whatever. After a warm dispute the motion was carried by a majority of sixty-one voices. Several resolutions were founded on the proposal: and to these the House agreed, though not without another violent contest. The resolutions produced a bill, against which petitions were preferred by the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of London, the city of Coventry, and Nottingham. A motion was made that counsel should be heard for the city of London; but it was rejected by the majority, and the petitions were ordered to lie upon the table. Had the minister encountered no opposition but that which appeared within doors, his project would have certainly been carried into execution: but the whole nation was alarmed, and clamoured loudly against the

excise bill. The populace still crowded around Westminster-hall, blocking up all the avenues to the House of Commons. They even insulted the persons of those members who had voted for the ministry on this occasion; and Sir Robert Walpole began to be in fear of his life. He, therefore, thought proper to drop the design, by moving that the second reading of the bill might be postponed till the twelfth day of June. Then, complaint being made of the insolence of the populace, who had maltreated several members, divers resolutions were taken against those tumultuous crowds, and their abettors; these resolves were communicated to the lord mayor of London, the sheriff of Middlesex, and the high-bailiff of Westminster. Some individuals were apprehended in the court of requests, as having fomented the disturbances; but they were soon released. The miscarriage of the bill was celebrated with public rejoicings in London and Westminster; and the minister was burned in effigy by the populace. After the miscarriage of the excise scheme, the House unanimously resolved to inquire into the frauds and abuses in the customs; and a committee of twenty-one persons was chosen by ballot for this purpose.

BILL FOR A DOWER TO THE PRINCESS ROYAL.

The subsequent debates of this session were occasioned by a bill to prevent the infamous practice of stock-jobbing, which with great difficulty made its way to the House of Lords, who proposed some amendments, in consequence of which it was laid aside; and succeeded by another bill establishing a lottery, to raise five hundred thousand pounds for the relief of those who had suffered by the charitable corporation. After having undergone some alterations, it passed through both Houses, and obtained the royal assent. The king, by

a message to Parliament, had signified his intention to give the princess royal in marriage to the Prince of Orange, promising himself their concurrence and assistance, that he might be enabled to bestow such a portion with his eldest daughter as should be suitable to the occasion. The Commons immediately resolved, that out of the monies arising from the sale of lands in the island of St. Christopher's, his majesty should be empowered to apply fourscore thousand pounds, as a marriage dower for his daughter; and a clause for this purpose was inserted in the bill, for enabling his majesty to apply five hundred thousand pounds out of the sinking fund for the service of the current year.

The opposition in the House of Lords was still more animated, though ineffectual. The debates chiefly turned upon the pension bill, the number of land-forces, and a motion made by Lord Bathurst for an account of the produce of the forfeited estates which had belonged to the directors of the South-Sea company. The trustees for these estates had charged themselves with a great sum of money, and the lords in the opposition thought they had a right to know how it had been disposed. The ministry had reasons to stifle this inquiry; and therefore opposed it with all their vigour. Nevertheless, the motion was carried, after a warm dispute, and the directors of the South-Sea company were ordered to lay the accounts before the House. From this it appeared that the large sums of money arising from the forfeited estates had been distributed among the proprietors by way of dividend, even before recourse was had to Parliament for directions in what manner that produce should be applied: Lord Bathurst therefore moved for a resolution of the House, that the disposal of this money by way of dividend, without any order or direction of a general court for that purpose, was a violation of the act of Parliament made for the disposal thereof, and a manifest injustice done to the proprietors

of that stock. The Duke of Newcastle, in order to gain time, moved, that as the account was confused, and almost unintelligible, the present directors of the company might be ordered to lay before the House a further and more distinct account of the manner in which the money had been disposed. A violent contest ensued, in the course of which the House divided, and of fifty-seven peers who voted for the delay, forty-six were such as enjoyed preferment in the church, commissions in the army, or civil employments under the government. At length Lord Bathurst waved his motion for that time: then the House ordered that the present and former directors of the South-Sea company, together with the late inspectors of their accounts, should attend and be examined. They were accordingly interrogated, and gave so little satisfaction, that Lord Bathurst moved for a committee of inquiry; but the question being put, was carried in the negative: yet a very strong protest was entered by the lords in the opposition. The next subject of altercation was the bill for misapplying part of the produce of the sinking fund. It was attacked with all the force of argument, wit, and declamation, by the Earl of Strafford, Lords Bathurst and Carteret, and particularly by the Earl of Chesterfield, who had by this time resigned his staff of lord-steward of the household, and renounced all connexion with the ministry. Lord Bathurst moved for a resolution, importing that, in the opinion of the House, the sinking fund ought for the future to be applied, in time of peace and public tranquillity, to the redemption of those taxes which were most prejudicial to the trade, most burdensome on the manufactures, and most oppressive on the poor of the nation. This motion was overruled, and the bill adopted by the majority. On the eleventh day of June, the king gave the royal assent to the bills that were prepared, and closed the session with a speech, in which he took notice of the wicked en-

deavours that had been lately used to inflame the minds of the people, by the most unjust misrepresentations.

DOUBLE ELECTION OF A KING OF POLAND.

Europe was now re-involved in fresh troubles by a vacancy on the throne of Poland. Augustus died at Warsaw in the end of January, and the neighbouring powers were immediately in commotion. The Elector of Saxony, son to the late king, and Stanislaus, whose daughter was married to the French monarch, declared themselves candidates for the Polish throne. The emperor, the czarina, and the King of Prussia, espoused the interest of the Saxon: the King of France supported the pretensions of his father-in-law. The foreign ministers at Warsaw forthwith began to form intrigues among the electors: the Marquis de Monti, ambassador from France, exerted himself so successfully that he soon gained over the primate, and a majority of the Catholic dietines, to the interests of Stanislaus; while the imperial and Russian troops hovered on the frontiers of Poland. The French king no sooner understood that a body of the emperor's forces was encamped at Silesia, than he ordered the Duke of Berwick to assemble an army on the Rhine, and take measures for entering Germany, in case the imperialists should march into Poland. A French fleet set sail for Dantzic, while Stanislaus travelled through Germany in disguise to Poland, and concealed himself in the house of the French ambassador at Warsaw. As the day of election approached, the imperial, Russian, and Prussian ministers delivered in their several declarations, by way of protest against the contingent election of Stanislaus, as a person proscribed, disqualified, depending upon a foreign power, and connected with the Turks and other infidels. The Russian General Lasci entered Poland at the head of fifty thousand men: the diet of

the election was opened with the usual ceremony on the twenty-fifth day of August. Prince Viesazowski, chief of the Saxon interest, retired to the other side of the Vistula with three thousand men, including some of the nobility who adhered to that party. Nevertheless, the primate proceeded to the election: Stanislaus was unanimously chosen king; and appeared in the electoral field, where he was received with loud acclamations. The opposite party soon increased to ten thousand men; protested against the election, and joined the Russian army, which advanced by speedy marches. King Stanislaus finding himself unable to cope with such adversaries, retired with the primate and French ambassador to Dantzic, leaving the Palatine of Kiow at Warsaw. This general attacked the Saxon palace, which was surrendered upon terms: then the soldiers and inhabitants plundered the houses belonging to the grandees who had declared for Augustus, as well as the hotel of the Russian minister. In the mean time, the Poles, who had joined the Muscovites, finding it impracticable to pass the Vistula before the expiration of the time fixed for the session of the diet, erected a kelo at Cracow, where the Elector of Saxony was chosen and proclaimed, by the Bishop of Cracow, King of Poland, under the name of Augustus III. on the sixth day of October. They afterwards passed the river, and the Palatine of Kiow retiring towards Cracow, they took possession of Warsaw, where in their turn they plundered the palaces and houses belonging to the opposite party.

CONFEDERACY FORMED AGAINST THE EMPEROR.

During these transactions, the French king concluded a treaty with Spain and Sardinia, by which those powers agreed to declare war against the emperor. Manifestos were published reciprocally by all the con-

tracting powers. The Duke of Berwick passed the Rhine in October, and undertook the siege of fort Kehl, which in a few days was surrendered on capitulation: then he repassed the river and returned to Versailles. The King of Sardinia having declared war against the emperor, joined a body of French forces commanded by Marischal de Villars, and drove the imperialists out of the Milanese. His imperial majesty, dreading the effects of such a powerful confederacy against him, offered to compromise all differences with the crown of Spain, under the mediation of the King of Great Britain; and Mr. Keen, the British minister at Madrid, proposed an accommodation. Philip expressed his acknowledgments to the King of England, declaring, however, that the emperor's advances were too late; and that his own resolutions were already taken. Nevertheless, he sent orders to the Count de Montijo, his ambassador at London, to communicate to his Britannic majesty the motives which had induced him to take these resolutions. In the mean time he detached a powerful armament to Italy, where they invested the imperial fortress of Aula, the garrison of which was obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. The republic of Venice declared she would take no share in the disputes of Italy; the States-General signed a neutrality with the French king for the Austrian Netherlands, without consulting the emperor or the King of Great Britain; and the English councils seemed to be altogether pacific.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE ARRIVES IN ENGLAND.

In November the Prince of Orange arrived at Greenwich, in order to espouse the princess royal: but the marriage was postponed on account of his being taken ill; and he repaired to Bath, in Somersetshire, to drink

the water for the recovery of his strength. Henrietta, the young Duchess of Marlborough, dying about this time, the title devolved to her sister's son, the Earl of Sunderland. Lord King resigning his office of chancellor, it was conferred upon Mr. Talbot, solicitor-general, together with the title of baron; a promotion that reflected honour upon those by whom it was advised. He possessed the spirit of a Roman senator, the elegance of an Atticus, and the integrity of a Cato. At the meeting of the Parliament in January, the king told them, in his speech, that though he was no way engaged in the war which had begun to rage in Europe, except by the good offices he had employed among the contending powers, he could not sit regardless of the present events, or be unconcerned for the consequences of a war undertaken and supported by such a powerful alliance. He said, he had thought proper to take time to examine the facts alleged on both sides, and to wait the result of the councils of those powers that were more immediately interested in the consequences of the rupture. He declared he would concert with his allies, more particularly with the States-General of the United Provinces, such measures as should be thought most advisable for their common safety, and for restoring the peace of Europe. In the mean time, he expressed his hope that they would make such provision as should secure his kingdom, rights, and possessions from all dangers and insults, and maintain the respect due to the British nation. He said, that whatever part it might in the end be most reasonable for him to act, it would in all views be necessary, when all Europe was preparing for arms, to put his kingdoms in a posture of defence. The motion for an address of thanks produced, as usual, a debate in both Houses, which, it must be owned, appears to have proceeded from a spirit of cavilling, rather than from any reasonable cause of objection.

ALTERCATION IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

The House of Commons resolved to address his majesty for a copy of the treaty of Vienna. Sir John Rushout moved for another, desiring that the letters and instructions relating to the execution of the treaty of Seville should be submitted to the inspection of the Commons; but, after a hard struggle, it was overruled. The next motion was made by Mr. Sandys, a gentleman who had for some time appeared strenuous in the opposition, and wrangled with great perseverance. He proposed that the House should examine the instructions which had been given to the British minister in Poland some years before the death of King Augustus, that they might be the better able to judge of the causes which produced this new rupture among the powers of Europe. The motion being opposed by all the court members, a contest ensued, in the course of which Mr. Pulteney compared the ministry to an empiric, and the constitution of England to his patient. This pretender in physic (said he) being consulted, tells the distempered person, there were but two or three ways of treating his disease: and he was afraid that none of them would succeed. A vomit might throw him into convulsions that would occasion immediate death; a purge might bring on a diarrhœa that would carry him off in a short time: and he had been already bled so much, and so often, that he could bear it no longer. The unfortunate patient, shocked at this declaration, replies, "Sir, you have always pretended to be a regular doctor, but now I find you are an arrant quack. I had an excellent constitution when I first fell into your hands, but you have quite destroyed it: and now I have no other chance for saving my life, but by calling for the help of some regular physician." In the debate, the members on both sides seemed to wander from the question, and in-

dulged themselves with ludicrous personalities. Mr. H. Walpole took occasion to say, that the opposition treated the ministry as he himself was treated by some of his acquaintance with respect to his dress. "If I am in plain clothes (said he) then they call me a slovenly, dirty fellow; and if by chance I wear a laced suit, they cry, What, shall such an awkward fellow wear fine clothes?" He continued to sport in this kind of idle buffoonery. He compared the present administration to a ship at sea. As long as the wind was fair, and proper for carrying us to our designed port, the word was "Steady! steady!" but when the wind began to shift and change, the word was necessarily altered to "Thus, thus, and no nearer." The motion was overpowered by the majority; and this was the fate of several other proposals made by the members in the opposition. Sir John Barnard presented a petition from the druggists, and other dealers in tea, complaining of the insults and oppression to which they were subjected by the excise laws, and imploring relief. Sir John and Mr. Perry, another of the city members, explained the grievous hardships which those traders sustained, and moved that the petition might be referred to the consideration of the whole House. They were opposed by Mr. Winnington, Sir W. Yonge, and other partisans of the ministry; and these skirmishes brought on a general engagement of the two parties, in which every weapon of satire, argument, reason, and truth was wielded against that odious, arbitrary, and oppressive method of collecting the public revenue. Nevertheless the motion in favour of the sufferers was rejected.

When the Commons deliberated upon the supply, Mr. Andrews, deputy-paymaster of the army, moved for an addition of eighteen hundred men to the number of land-forces which had been continued since the preceding year. The members in the opposition disputed this small augmentation with too much heat and

eagerness. It must be acknowledged, they were by this time irritated into such personal animosity against the minister, that they resolved to oppose all his measures, whether they might or might not be necessary for the safety and advantage of the kingdom. Nor indeed were they altogether blamable for acting on this maxim, if their sole aim was to remove from the confidence and councils of their sovereign a man whose conduct they thought prejudicial to the interest and liberties of their country. They could not, however, prevent the augmentation proposed; but they resolved, if they could not wholly stop the career of the ministry, to throw in such a number of rubs as should at least retard their progress. The Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham had been deprived of the regiments they commanded, because they refused to concur in every project of the administration. It was in consequence of their dismission, that Lord Morpeth moved for a bill to prevent any commission-officer, not above the rank of a colonel, from being removed, unless by a court-martial, or by address of either House of Parliament. Such an attack on the prerogative might have succeeded in the latter part of the reign of the first Charles; but at this juncture could not fail to miscarry; yet it was sustained with great vigour and address. When the proposal was set aside by the majority, Mr. Sandys moved for an address to the king, desiring to know who advised his majesty to remove the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham from their respective regiments. He was seconded by Mr. Pulteney and Sir William Wyndham: but the ministry, foreseeing another tedious dispute, called for the question, and the motion was carried in the negative. The next source of contention was a bill for securing the freedom of Parliament, by limiting the number of officers in the House of Commons. It was read a first and second time; but, when a motion was made for its being committed, it met with a powerful opposition, and pro-

duced a warm debate that issued in a question, which, like the former, passed in the negative. A clergyman having insinuated in conversation that Sir William Milner, baronet, member for York, received a pension from the ministry, the House took cognizance of this report: the clergyman acknowledged at the bar that he might have dropped such a hint from hearsay. The accused member protested, upon his honour, that he never did, nor ever would receive, place, pension, gratuity, or reward from the court, either directly or indirectly, for voting in Parliament, or upon any other account whatever. The accusation was voted false and scandalous, and the accuser taken into custody; but in a few days he was discharged upon his humble petition, and his begging pardon of the member whom he had calumniated. The duty upon salt was prolonged for eight years; and a bill passed against stock-jobbing.

MOTION FOR THE REPEAL OF THE SEPTENNIAL ACT.

But the subject which of all others employed the eloquence and abilities on both sides to the most vigorous exertion, was a motion made by Mr. Bromley, who proposed that a bill should be brought in for repealing the septennial act, and for the more frequent meeting and calling of Parliaments. The arguments for and against septennial Parliaments have already been stated. The ministry now insisted upon the increase of Papists and Jacobites, which rendered it dangerous to weaken the hands of the government: they challenged the opposition to produce one instance in which the least encroachment had been made on the liberties of the people since the septennial act took place; and they defied the most ingenious malice to prove that his present majesty had ever endeavoured to extend any branch of the prerogative beyond its legal bounds. Sir John Hinde Cot-

ton affirmed, that in many parts of England the Papists had already begun to use all their influence in favour of those candidates who were recommended by the ministers as members in the ensuing Parliament. With respect to his majesty's conduct, he said he would not answer one word; but as to the grievances introduced since the law was enacted for septennial Parliaments, he thought himself more at liberty to declare his sentiments. He asserted, that the septennial law itself was an encroachment on the rights of the people; a law passed by a Parliament that made itself septennial. He observed, that the laws of treason with regard to trials were altered since that period: that in former times a man was tried by a jury of his neighbours, within the county where the crimes alleged against him were said to be committed; but by an act of a septennial Parliament he might be removed and tried in any place where the crown, or rather the ministry, could find a jury proper for their purpose; where the prisoner could not bring any witnesses in his justification, without an expense which, perhaps, his circumstances would not bear. He asked, if the riot act was not an encroachment on the rights of the people? An act by which a little dirty justice of the peace, the meanest and vilest tool a minister can use, who, perhaps, subsists by his being in the commission, and may be deprived of that subsistence at the pleasure of his patron, had it in his power to put twenty or thirty of the best subjects in England to immediate death, without any trial or form but that of reading a proclamation. "Was not the fatal South-Sea scheme (said he) established by the act of a septennial Parliament? And can any man ask, whether that law was attended with any inconvenience? To the glorious catalogue I might have added the late excise bill, if it had passed into a law; but, thank heaven, the septennial Parliament was near expiring before that famous measure was introduced."

CONCLUSION OF A REMARKABLE SPEECH BY SIR W. WYNDHAM.

Sir William Wyndham concluded an excellent speech, that spoke him the unrivalled orator, the uncorrupted Briton, and the unshaken patriot, in words to this effect: "Let us suppose a man abandoned to all notions of virtue and honour, of no great family, and but a mean fortune, raised to be chief minister of state by the concurrence of many whimsical events; afraid, or unwilling, to trust any but creatures of his own making; lost to all sense of shame and reputation; ignorant of his country's true interest; pursuing no aim but that of aggrandizing himself and his favourites; in foreign affairs trusting none but those who, from the nature of their education, cannot possibly be qualified for the service of their country, or give weight and credit to their negotiations. Let us suppose the true interest of the nation, by such means, neglected or misunderstood, her honour tarnished, her importance lost, her trade insulted, her merchants plundered, and her sailors murdered; and all these circumstances overlooked, lest his administration should be endangered. Suppose him next possessed of immense wealth, the plunder of the nation, with a Parliament chiefly composed of members whose seats are purchased, and whose votes are bought at the expense of the public treasure. In such a Parliament, suppose all attempts made to inquire into his conduct, or to relieve the nation from the distress which has been entailed upon it by his administration. Suppose him screened by a corrupt majority of his creatures, whom he retains in daily pay, or engages in his particular interest by distributing among them those posts and places which ought never to be bestowed upon any but for the good of the public. Let him plume himself upon his scandalous victory, because he has obtained

a Parliament like a packed jury, ready to acquit him at all adventures Let us suppose him domineering with insolence over all the men of ancient families, over all the men of sense, figure, or fortune in the nation; as he has no virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to destroy or corrupt it in all. With such a minister, and such a Parliament, let us suppose a case which I hope will never happen: a prince upon the throne, uninformed, ignorant, and unacquainted with the inclinations and true interest of his people, weak, capricious, transported with unbounded ambition, and possessed with insatiable avarice. I hope such a case will never occur; but as it possibly may, could any greater curse happen to a nation, than such a prince on the throne, advised, and solely advised, by such a minister, and that minister supported by such a Parliament? The nature of mankind cannot be altered by human laws; the existence of such a prince or such a minister we cannot prevent by act of Parliament; but the existence of such a Parliament I think we may prevent; as it is much more likely to exist, and may do more mischief while the septennial law remains in force, than if it were repealed: therefore, I am heartily for its being repealed." Notwithstanding the most warm, the most nervous, the most pathetic remonstrances in favour of the motion, the question was put, and it was suppressed by mere dint of number.

The triumph of the ministry was still more complete in the success of a message delivered from the crown in the latter end of the session, when a great many members of the other party had retired to their respective habitations in the country. Sir Robert Walpole delivered this commission to the House, importing that his majesty might be enabled to augment his forces, if occasion should require such an augmentation, between the dissolution of this Parliament and the election of another. Such an important point, that was said to

strike at the foundation of our liberties, was not tamely yielded; but, on the contrary, contested with uncommon ardour. The motion for taking the message into consideration was carried in the affirmative; and an address presented to the king, signifying their compliance with his desire. In consequence of a subsequent message, they prepared and passed a bill, enabling his majesty to settle an annuity of five thousand pounds for life on the princess royal, as a mark of his paternal favour and affection.

PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED.

The opposition in the House of Peers kept pace with that in the House of Commons, and was supported with equal abilities, under the auspices of the Lords Bathurst and Carteret, the Earls of Chesterfield and Abingdon. The Duke of Marlborough made a motion for a bill to regulate the army, equivalent to that which had been rejected in the Lower House; and it met with the same fate after a warm dispute. Then Lord Carteret moved for an address to the king, that he would be graciously pleased to acquaint the House who advised his majesty to remove the Duke of Bolton and Lord Viscount Cobham from their respective regiments; and what crimes were laid to their charge. This proposal was likewise rejected, at the end of a debate in which the Duke of Argyle observed, that two lords had been removed, but only one soldier lost his commission. Such a great majority of the Scottish representatives had always voted for the ministry, since the accession of the late king, and so many of these enjoyed places and preferments in the gift of the crown, that several attempts were made by the lords in the opposition to prevent for the future the ministerial influence from extending itself to the elections of North Britain. Accordingly two motions for this purpose were made by the Earl of Marchmont

and the Duke of Bedford; and sustained by the Earls of Chesterfield, Winchelsea, and Stair, Lords Willoughby de Broke, Bathurst, and Carteret. They were opposed by the Dukes of Newcastle and Argyle, the Earl of Cholmondeley, Earl Paulet, Lord Hervey, now called up by writ to the House of Peers, and Lord Talbot. The question being put on both, they were of course defeated; and the Earl of Stair was deprived of his regiment of dragoons, after having performed the most signal services to the royal family, and exhausted his fortune in supporting the interest and dignity of the crown. Strenuous protests were entered against the decision of the majority concerning the king's message, demanding a power to augment his forces during the recess of Parliament; as also against a bill for enabling his majesty to apply the sum of one million two hundred thousand pounds out of the sinking-fund for the service of the current year. The business of the session being despatched, the king repaired to the House of Lords on the sixteenth day of April, and having passed all the bills that were ready for the royal assent, took leave of this Parliament, with the warmest acknowledgment of their zeal, duty, and affection. It was at first prorogued, then dissolved, and another convoked by the same proclamation. On the fourteenth day of March, the nuptials of the Prince of Orange and the princess royal were solemnized with great magnificence; and this match was attended with addresses of congratulation to his majesty from different parts of the kingdom.

DANTZICK BESIEGED BY THE RUSSIANS.

The powers at war upon the Continent acted with surprising vigour. The Russian and Saxon army invested the city of Dantzic, in hopes of securing the person of King Stanislaus. The town was strong, the garrison

numerous, and, animated by the examples of the French and Poles, made a very obstinate defence. For some time they were supplied by sea with recruits, arms, and ammunition. On the eleventh day of May a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men was landed from two French ships of war and some transports under Fort Wechselmunde, which was so much in want of provisions that they were not admitted; they therefore re-embarked, and sailed back to Copenhagen. But afterwards a larger number was landed in the same place, and attacked the Russian intrenchment, in order to force their way into the city. They were repulsed in this attempt, but retired in good order. At length the Russian fleet arrived, under the command of Admiral Gordon; and now the siege was carried on with great fury. Fort Wechselmunde was surrendered; the French troops capitulated, and were embarked in the Russian ships, to be conveyed to some port in the Baltic. Stanislaus escaped in the disguise of a peasant to Marienwarder in the Prussian territories. The city of Dantzic submitted to the dominion of Augustus III. King of Poland, and was obliged to defray the expense of the war to the Russian general, Count de Munich, who had assumed the command after the siege was begun. The Polish lords at Dantzic signed an act of submission to King Augustus, who, on the tenth day of July, arrived at the convent of Oliva. There a council was held in his presence. The recusant nobleman took the oath which he proposed. Then a general amnesty was proclaimed; and the king set out on his return to Dresden.

PHILIPSBURGH TAKEN BY THE FRENCH. DON CARLOS ENTERS NAPLES.

On the Rhine the French arms bore down all resistance. The Count de Belleisle besieged and took Traerbach. The Duke of Berwick, at the head of sixty

thousand men, invested Philipsburgh, while Prince Eugene was obliged to remain on the defensive, in the strong camp at Heilbron, waiting for the troops of the empire. On the twelfth day of June, the Duke of Berwick, in visiting the trenches, was killed by a cannon-ball, and the command devolved upon the Marquis d'Asfeldt, who carried on the operations of the siege with equal vigour and capacity. Prince Eugene being joined by the different reinforcements he expected, marched towards the French lines; but found them so strong that he would not hazard an attack; and such precautions taken, that with all his military talents he could not relieve the besieged. At length General Watgenau, the governor, capitulated, after having made a noble defence, and obtained the most honourable conditions. Prince Eugene retired to Heidelberg; and the campaign ended about the beginning of October. The imperial arms were not more successful in Italy. The Infant Don Carlos had received so many invitations from the Neapolitan nobility, that he resolved to take possession of that kingdom. He began his march in February, at the head of the Spanish forces; published a manifesto, declaring he was sent by his father to relieve the kingdom of Naples from the oppression under which it groaned; and entered the capital amidst the acclamations of the people; while the Count de Visconti, the German viceroy, finding himself unable to cope with the invaders, thought proper to retire, after having thrown succours into Gaeta and Capua. When he arrived at Nocera, he began to assemble the militia, with intent to form a camp at Barletta. The Count de Montemar marched with a body of forces against this general, and obtained over him a complete victory at Bitonto in Apuglia, on the twenty-fifth of May, when the imperialists were entirely routed, and a great number of principal officers taken prisoners. Don Carlos, being proclaimed, and acknowledged King of Naples,

created the Count de Montemar Duke of Bitonto; reduced Gaeta, and all other parts of the kingdom which were garrisoned with imperial troops; and resolved to subdue the island of Sicily. About twenty thousand troops being destined for this expedition were landed in the road of Solanto in August, under the command of the new Duke of Bitonto, who, being favoured by the natives, proceeded in his conquests with great rapidity. The people acknowledged Don Carlos as their sovereign, and took arms in support of his government; so that the imperial troops were driven before them, and the Spaniards possessed the whole kingdom, except Messina, Syracuse, and Trepani, when the infant determined to visit the island in person.

BATTLE OF PARMA.

While Don Carlos was thus employed in the conquest of Naples and Sicily, the imperialists were hard pressed in Lombardy by the united forces of France and Piedmont, commanded by the King of Sardinia and the old Mareschal Duke de Villars. In the month of January they undertook the siege of Tortona, which they reduced; while the troops of the emperor began to pour in great numbers into the Mantuan. In the beginning of May, Count Merci, who commanded them, passed the Po in the face of the allies, notwithstanding all the skill of Villars, obliged him to retreat from the banks of that river, and took the castle of Colorno. The old French general, being taken ill, quitted the army, and retired to Turin, where in a little time he died; and the King of Sardinia retiring to the same place, the command of the allied forces devolved upon the Mareschal de Coigny. The confederates were posted at Sanguina, and the imperialists at Sorbola, when the Count de Merci made a motion to San Prospero, as if he intended either to attack the enemy, or

take possession of Parma. The Mareschal de Coigny forthwith made a disposition for an engagement; and, on the twenty-ninth day of June, the imperial general having passed the Parma, began the attack with great impetuosity. He charged in person at the head of his troops, and was killed soon after the battle began. Nevertheless, the Prince of Wirtemberg assuming the command, both armies fought with great obstinacy, from eleven in the forenoon till four in the afternoon, when the imperialists retired towards Monte Cirugalo, leaving five thousand men dead on the field of battle, and among these many officers of distinction. The loss of the allies was very considerable, and they reaped no solid fruits from their victory.

THE IMPERIALISTS ARE AGAIN WORSTED AT GUASTALLA.

The imperial forces retreated to Reggio, and from thence moved to the plains of Carpi, on the right of the Secchia, where they received some reinforcements: then General Count Konigsegg, arriving in the camp, took upon himself the command of the army. His first step was to take post at Quingentolo, by which motion he secured Mirandola, that was threatened with a siege. On the fifteenth of February he forded the river Secchia, and surprised the quarters of Mareschal de Broglio, who escaped in his shirt with great difficulty. The French retired with such precipitation, that they left all their baggage behind, and above two thousand were taken prisoners. They posted themselves under Guastalla, where, on the nineteenth day of the month, they were vigorously attacked by the imperialists, and a general engagement ensued. Konigsegg made several desperate efforts to break the French cavalry, upon which, however, he could make no impression. The infantry on both sides fought with uncommon ardour

for six hours, and the field was covered with carnage. At length the imperial general retreated to Lazara, after having lost above five thousand men, including the Prince of Wirtemberg, the Generals Valpareze and Colminero, with many other officers of distinction: nor was the damage sustained by the French greatly inferior to that of the Germans, who repassed the Po, and took post on the banks of the Oglio. The allies crossed the same river, and the Marquis de Maillibois was sent with a detachment to attack Mirandola; but the imperialists, marching to the relief of the place, compelled him to abandon the enterprise: then he rejoined his army, which retired under the walls of Cremona, to wait for succours from Don Carlos. So little respect did the French court pay to the British nation at this juncture, that in the month of November, an edict was published at Paris, commanding all the British subjects in France, who were not actually in employment, from the age of eighteen to fifty, to quit the kingdom in fifteen days, or inlist in some of the Irish regiments, on pain of being treated as vagabonds, and sent to the galleys. This edict was executed with the utmost rigour. The prisons of Paris were crowded with the subjects of Great Britain, who were surprised and cut off from all communication with their friends, and must have perished by cold and hunger, had not they been relieved by the active charity of the Jansenists. The Earl of Waldegrave, who then resided at Paris as ambassador from the King of Great Britain, made such vigorous remonstrances to the French ministry upon this unheard-of outrage against a nation with which they had been so long in alliance, that they thought proper to set the prisoners at liberty, and publish another edict, by which the meaning of the former was explained away.

NEW PARLIAMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN.

While these transactions occurred on the Continent, the King of Great Britain augmented his land-forces; and warm contests were maintained through the whole united kingdom in electing representatives for the new Parliament. But in all these struggles the ministerial power predominated; and the new members appeared with the old complexion. The two Houses assembled on the fourteenth day of January, and Mr. Onslow was re-elected speaker. The leaders of both parties in all debates were the self-same persons who had conducted those of the former Parliament; and the same measures were pursued in the same manner. The king, in his speech at the opening of the session, gave them to understand, that he had concerted with the States-General of the united provinces such measures as were thought most advisable for their common safety, and for restoring the peace of Europe: that they had considered on one side the pressing applications made by the imperial court both in England and Holland for obtaining succours against the powers at war with the house of Austria; and, on the other side, the repeated professions made by the allies of their sincere disposition to put an end to the present troubles upon honourable and solid terms; that he and the States-General had concurred in a resolution to employ their joint and earnest instances to bring matters to a speedy and happy accommodation: that their good offices were at length accepted; and in a short time a plan would be offered to the consideration of all parties engaged in the war, as a basis for a general negotiation for peace. He told them he had used the power vested in him by the last Parliament with great moderation; and concluded a treaty with the crown of Denmark of great importance in the present conjuncture. He observed, that whilst

many of the principal powers of Europe were actually engaged in a war, Great Britain must be more or less affected with the consequences; and as the best concerted measures are liable to uncertainty, the nation ought to be prepared against all events. He therefore expressed his hope, that his good subjects would not repine at the necessary means of procuring the blessings of peace and universal tranquillity, or of putting him in a condition to act that part which it might be necessary and incumbent upon him to take. The address of thanks produced a dispute as usual, which ended with an acquiescence in the motion. The House, in a grand committee on the supply, resolved, that thirty thousand seamen should be employed for the service of the ensuing year; and that the land-forces should be augmented to the number of twenty-five thousand seven hundred and forty-four effective men. But these resolutions were not taken without dispute and division. The minister's opponents not only reproduced all the reasons which had been formerly advanced against a standing army, but they opposed this augmentation with extraordinary ardour, as a huge stride towards the establishment of arbitrary power. They refuted those fears of external broils on which the ministry pretended to ground the necessity of such an augmentation; and they exposed the weak conduct of the administration, in having contributed to destroy the balance of power, by assisting Spain against the emperor in Italy, so as to aggrandize the house of Bourbon.

DEBATE ON A SUBSIDY TO DENMARK.

Sir William Wyndham moved, that the estimate of the navy for the ensuing year might be referred to a select committee. He expressed his surprise, that notwithstanding the vast sums which had been yearly raised, and the long continuance of the peace, the people

had not been quite delivered of any one tax incurred in the preceding war. He said, he could not comprehend how it was possible to find pretences for exposing the nation to such exorbitant charges; and he took notice of some unconscionable articles in the accounts of the navy debt that lay upon the table. He was seconded by Mr. Sandys, and supported by Sir Joseph Jekyll and Mr. Pulteney; but, after some debate, the motion was carried in the negative. When the new treaty with Denmark fell under consideration in a grand committee, Mr. H. Walpole moved, that the sum of fifty-six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds should be granted to his majesty, as a subsidy to the Dane, pursuant to the said treaty, for the service of the ensuing year. The demand did not meet with immediate compliance. All the leaders in the opposition exclaimed against the subsidy as unnecessary and unreasonable. They observed, that as the English had no particular interest of their own for inducing them to engage in the present war, but only the danger to which the balance of power might be exposed by that event; and as all the powers of Europe were as much, if not more, interested than the English in the preservation of that balance, should it ever be really endangered, they would certainly engage in its defence without receiving any valuable consideration from Great Britain; but should the English be always the first to take the alarm upon any rupture, and offer bribes and pensions to all the princes in Europe, the whole charge of preserving that balance would fall upon Great Britain: every state would expect a gratification from her, for doing that which it would otherwise be obliged to do for its own preservation: even the Dutch might at last refuse to assist in trimming this balance, unless Britain should submit to make the grand pensionary of Holland a pensionary of England, and take a number of their forces into English pay. The debate having had its free course, the ques-

tion was put, and the motion approved by the majority. The ministry allowed a bill to be brought in for limiting the number of officers in the House of Commons; but at the second reading it was rejected upon a division, after a learned debate, in which it appeared that the opposition had gained a valuable auxiliary in the person of Lord Polwarth, son to the Earl of Marchmont, a nobleman of elegant parts, keen penetration, and uncommon vivacity, who spoke with all the fluency and fervour of elocution.

PETITION OF SOME SCOTTISH NOBLEMEN TO THE HOUSE OF PEERS.

The minority in the House of Lords were not less vigilant and resolute in detecting and opposing every measure which they thought would redound to the prejudice of their country. But the most remarkable object that employed their attention during this session was a very extraordinary petition, subscribed by the Dukes of Hamilton, Queensberry, and Montrose, the Earls of Dundonald, Marchmont, and Stair, representing that undue influence had been used for carrying on the election of the sixteen peers for Scotland. The Duke of Bedford, who delivered their petition to the House, proposed a day for taking it into consideration; and to this they agreed. It was afterwards moved, that the consideration of it should be adjourned to a short day, before which the petitioners should be ordered to declare whether they intended to controvert the last election of all the sixteen peers, or the election of any, and which of them. This affair was of such an unprecedented nature, that the House seemed to be divided in opinion about the manner in which they ought to proceed. The partisans of the ministry would have willingly stifled the inquiry in the beginning; but the petitioners were so strenuously supported in their claim

to some notice, by the Earls of Chesterfield, Abingdon, and Strafford, the Lords Bathurst and Carteret, that they could not dismiss it at once with any regard to decorum. The order of the House, according to the motion explained above, being communicated by the lord chancellor to the petitioners, they waited on him with a declaration, importing that they did not intend to controvert the election or return of the sixteen peers for Scotland; but they thought it their duty to lay before their lordships the evidence of such facts and undue methods as appeared to them to be dangerous to the constitution; and might in future elections equally affect the right of the present sixteen peers, as that of the other peers of Scotland, if not prevented by a proper remedy. This declaration being repeated to the House, the Duke of Devonshire made a motion, that the petitioners might be ordered to lay before the House, in writing, instances of those undue methods and illegal practices upon which they intended to proceed, and the names of the persons they suspected to be guilty. He was warmly opposed by the country party; and a long debate ensued; after which the question was carried in favour of the motion, and the order signified to the petitioners. Next day their answer was read to the House to this effect: that as they had no intention to state themselves accusers, they could not take upon them to name particular persons who might have been concerned in those illegal practices; but who they were would undoubtedly appear to their lordships upon their taking the proper examinations; nevertheless, they did humbly acquaint their lordships, that the petition was laid before them upon information, that the list of the sixteen peers of Scotland had been framed, previous to the election, by persons in high trust under the crown: that this list was shown to peers, as a list approved by the crown; and was called the king's list, from which there was to be no variation, unless to make way for one or two particular

peers, on condition they should conform to measures: that peers were solicited to vote for this list, without the liberty of making any alteration: that endeavours were used to engage peers to vote for this list by promise of pensions, and offices civil and military to themselves and relations, as well as by offers of money: that sums were given for this purpose: that pensions, offices, and releases of debts owing to the crown, were actually granted to peers who concurred in voting for this list, and to their relations: that on the day of election a battalion of his majesty's troops were drawn up in the Abbey-court of Edinburgh, contrary to custom, and without any apparent cause but that of overawing the electors. This answer gave rise to another violent dispute; but the majority voted it unsatisfactory, and the petition was rejected, though the resolution was clogged with a vigorous protest.

Notwithstanding this discouragement, the Earl of Abingdon moved, that although the petition was dismissed, an inquiry might be set on foot touching an affair of such consequence to the liberties of the kingdom. The Earl of Ilay declaring his belief that no such illegal methods had been practised, the other produced a pamphlet, entitled "The Protests of a great Number of noble Lords, entered by them at the last Election of Peers for Scotland." Exceptions being taken to a pamphlet, as an object unworthy of their notice, Lord Bathurst exhibited an authentic copy of those protests, extracted from the journal of that election, signed by the two principal clerks, and witnessed by two gentlemen then attending in the lobby. These were accordingly read, and plainly demonstrated the truth of the allegations contained in the petition. Nothing could be more scandalous, arrogant, and shamefully flagrant than the conduct and deportment of those who acted the part of understrappers to the ministry on this occasion. But all this demonstration, adorned and en-

forced by the charms and energy of eloquence, was like preaching in a desert. A motion was made for adjourning, and carried in the affirmative: a protest was entered, and the whole affair consigned to oblivion. Divers other motions were made successively by the lords in the opposition, and rejected by the invincible power of a majority. The uninterrupted success of the ministry did not, however, prevent them from renewing the struggle as often as an opportunity offered. They disputed the continuation of the salt-tax, and the bill for enabling the king to apply the sum of one million out of the sinking-fund for the service of the current year, though success did not attend their endeavours. They supported with all their might a bill sent up from the Commons, explaining and amending an act of the Scottish Parliament, for preventing wrongous imprisonment, and against undue delays in trials. This was all the natives of Scotland had in lieu of the habeas corpus act, though it did not screen them from oppression. Yet the Earl of Ilay undertook to prove they were on a footing with their neighbours of England in this respect; and the bill was thrown out on a division. The session was closed on the fifteenth of May, when the king, in his speech to both Houses, declared that the plan of pacification concerted between him and the States-General had not produced the desired effect. He thanked the Commons for the supplies they had granted with such cheerfulness and despatch. He signified his intention to visit his German dominions; and told them he should constitute the queen regent of the realm in his absence. Immediately after the prorogation his majesty embarked for Holland, in his way to Hanover.

MISUNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE COURTS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

By this time the good understanding between the courts of Madrid and Lisbon was destroyed by a remarkable incident. The Portuguese ambassador at Madrid having allowed his servants to rescue a criminal from the officers of justice, all the servants concerned in that rescue were dragged from his house to prison, by the Spanish king's order, with circumstances of rigour and disgrace. His Portuguese majesty being informed of this outrage, ordered reprisals to be made upon the servants of the Spanish ambassador at Lisbon. The two ministers withdrew abruptly to their respective courts. The two monarchs expressed their mutual resentment. The King of Spain assembled a body of troops on the frontiers of Portugal; and his Portuguese majesty had recourse to the assistance of King George. Don Marcos Antonio d'Alzeveda was despatched to London with the character of envoy extraordinary; and succeeded in his commission according to his wish. In a little time after the king's departure from England, Sir John Norris sailed from Spithead with a powerful squadron, in order to protect the Portuguese against the Spaniards; and on the ninth day of June arrived at Lisbon, where he was welcomed as a deliverer. Mr. Keene, the British envoy at the court of Spain, had communicated to his catholic majesty the resolution of his master to send a powerful squadron to Lisbon, with orders to guard that coast from insults, and secure the Brazil fleet, in which the merchants of Great Britain were deeply interested. Don Joseph Patinho, minister of his catholic majesty, delivered a memorial to Mr. Keene, representing that such an expedition would affect the commerce of Spain, by intimidating foreign merchants from embarking their merchandise in the fiota. But, in all pro-

bability, it prevented a rupture between the two crowns, and disposed the King of Spain to listen to terms of accommodation.

PRELIMINARIES SIGNED BY THE EMPEROR AND THE KING OF FRANCE.

The powers in alliance against the house of Austria, having rejected the plan of pacification concerted by the King of Great Britain and the States-General, Mr. Walpole, ambassador at the Hague, presented a memorial to their high mightinesses, desiring they would, without loss of time, put themselves in a posture of defence by an augmentation of their forces at sea and land; that they might take such vigorous steps in concert with Great Britain, as the future conjuncture of affairs might require. But before they would subject themselves to such expense, they resolved to make further trial of their influence with the powers in alliance against the emperor; and conferences were renewed with the ministers of those allies. The affairs of Poland became more and more unfavourable to the interest of Stanislaus; for though a great number of the Polish nobility engaged in a confederacy to support his claim, and made repeated efforts in his behalf, the Palatine of Kiow submitted to Augustus; and even his brother the primate, after having sustained a long imprisonment and many extraordinary hardships, was obliged to acknowledge that prince his sovereign. In Italy the arms of the allies still continued to prosper. Don Carlos landed in Sicily, and reduced the whole island, almost without opposition; while the imperialists were forced to abandon all the territories they possessed in Italy, except the Mantuan. The emperor being equally unable to cope with the French armies on the Rhine, implored succours of the czarina, who sent thirty thousand men to his assistance. This vigorous interposition, and the

success of Augustus in Poland, disposed the court of Versailles to a pacification. A secret negotiation was begun between France and the house of Austria; and the preliminaries were signed without the concurrence or knowledge of Spain, Sardinia, and the maritime powers. In these articles it was stipulated, that France should restore all the conquests she had made in Germany: that the reversion of the dukedom of Tuscany should be vested in the Duke of Lorraine: that Lorraine should be allotted to king Stanislaus; and after his death be united to the crown of France: that the emperor should possess the Milanese, the Mantuan, and Parma: that the King of Sardinia should enjoy Vigevano and Novara: that Don Carlos should be acknowledged King of Naples and Sicily, and retain the island of Elba, with all the Spanish territories on the coast of Tuscany; and that France should guarantee the pragmatic sanction.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

The King of Great Britain returned from Hanover to England in the month of November; and on the fifteenth day of January opened the session of Parliament. On this occasion he congratulated them on the near prospect of a general peace in Europe, in consequence of the preliminary articles in which the emperor and the King of France had agreed; and of which he had expressed his approbation, as they did not differ in any essential point from the plan of pacification which he and the States-General had offered to the belligerent powers. He told them that he had already ordered a considerable reduction to be made in his forces both by sea and land; but at the same time observed, it would be necessary to continue some extraordinary expense, until a more perfect reconciliation should be established among the several powers of Europe. An

address of thanks was unanimously voted, presented, and graciously received. After the House had received several petitions from different counties and gentlemen, complaining of undue influence in elections for members of Parliament, it proceeded to consider of the supply, and Sir Charles Wager moving that fifteen thousand seamen should be employed for the service of the ensuing year, the proposal was approved without opposition. But this was not the case with a motion made by Mr. Pulteney, "That the ordinary estimate of the navy should be referred to a select committee." The ministry discouraged all such prying measures: a debate was produced, the House divided, and the motion was rejected. Such was the fate of a motion for raising the supplies within the year, made by Mr. Sandys, and supported by Sir John Barnard, Mr. Willimot, and other patriots, who demonstrated, that this was a speedy and practicable expedient for discharging the national debt, lowering the interest of money, reducing the price of labour, and encouraging a spirit of commerce.

BILL FOR THE RELIEF OF QUAKERS IN THE ARTICLES OF TITHES.

The bill for limiting the number of officers in the House of Commons was again revived. The king was empowered to borrow six hundred thousand pounds, chargeable on the sinking-fund, for the service of the ensuing year, though this power was not easily granted; and the House resolved to lay a duty of twenty shillings per gallon on all spirituous liquors, after it had appeared to the committee appointed for that purpose, that those spirits were pernicious to the health and morals of the people. To this resolution was added another, which amounted to a total prohibition, namely, that fifty pounds should be yearly paid to his majesty for a licence to be annually taken out by every person who should vend,

barter, or utter any such spirituous liquors. Mr. Walter Plumer, in a well-concerted speech, moved for the repeal of some clauses in the test act: these he represented as a species of persecution, in which protestant dissenters were confounded with the Roman Catholics and enemies to the establishment. He was sustained by Lord Polwarth and Mr. Heathcote; but Sir Robert Walpole was joined by Mr. Shippen against the motion as dangerous to the established church; and the question being put, it was carried in the negative. When Sir Joseph Jekyll presented to the House, according to order, a bill founded on the resolutions they had taken against spirituous liquors, Sir Robert Walpole acquainted them, by his majesty's command, that as the alterations proposed to be made by that bill in the duties charged upon all spirituous liquors might, in a great degree, affect some part of the civil-list revenues, his majesty, for the sake of remedying so great an evil as was intended by that bill to be prevented, did consent to accept any other revenue of equal value, to be settled and appropriated in lieu of his interest in the said duties. The bill was read a second time, and consigned to a committee of the whole House; but that for limiting the number of officers in the House of Commons was thrown out at the second reading. Petitions against the bill touching the retail of spirituous liquors were presented by the traders to the British sugar colonies, by the merchants of Bristol and Liverpool, representing the hardships to which they would be exposed by a law which amounted to a prohibition of rum and spirits distilled from molasses. In consequence of these remonstrances, a mitigating clause was inserted in favour of the composition known by the name of punch, and distillers were permitted to exercise any other employment. The sum of seventy thousand pounds was voted for making good the deficiencies that might happen in the civil-list by this bill, which at length passed through

the House, though not without reiterated disputes and warm altercation. Violent opposition was likewise made to a bill for the relief of the people called Quakers, who offered a petition, representing, that though from motives of conscience they refused the payment of tithes, church-rates, oblations, and ecclesiastical dues, they were exposed to grievous sufferings by prosecution in the exchequer, ecclesiastical, and other courts, to the imprisonment of their persons, and the ruin of them and their families. A bill being prepared for their relief, was read and printed: then petitions were preferred against it by the clergy of Middlesex, and of many other parts of the kingdom. Counsel was heard in behalf of those petitioners, and several alterations proposed in the bill, which, after long and repeated debates, surmounted all opposition, and was sent up to the Lords.

MORTMAIN ACT.

In the month of February the king had sent two members of the privy-council to the Prince of Wales, with a message, proposing a marriage between his royal highness and the Princess of Saxegotha. The proposal being agreeable to the prince, the marriage was celebrated on the twenty-seventh day of April. Upon this occasion Mr. Pulteney moved for an address of congratulation to his majesty, and was supported by Mr. George Lyttleton and Mr. William Pitt, who seized this opportunity of pronouncing elegant panegyrics on the Prince of Wales and his amiable consort. These two young members soon distinguished themselves in the House by their eloquence and superior talents. The attention of the House was afterwards converted to a bill for the preventing of smuggling; and another for explaining the act for the more effectual preventing bribery and corruption in the election of members to

serve in Parliament. Both made their way through the Lower House, and were sent up to the Lords for their concurrence. The number of land-forces voted for the service of the current year was reduced to seventeen thousand seven hundred and four effective men. The supplies were raised by the malt-tax and land-tax at two shillings in the pound, additional duties on mum, cider, and perry, stamped vellum, parchment, and paper; and by an act empowering his majesty to borrow six hundred thousand pounds from the sinking-fund. In this session the Parliament repealed the old statutes of England and Scotland against conjuration, witchcraft, and dealing with evil spirits. The Commons likewise prepared a bill to restrain the disposition of lands in mortmain, whereby they became unalienable. Against this measure petitions were presented by the two universities, the colleges of Eton, Winchester, and Westminster, and divers hospitals that subsisted by charitable donations. In favour of the universities and colleges a particular exempting clause was inserted. Several other amendments were made in the bill, which passed through both Houses and obtained the royal assent. Among the acts passed in this session, was one for naturalizing her royal highness the Princess of Wales; and another for building a bridge across the Thames from New Palace-yard, in the city of Westminster, to the opposite shore in the county of Surrey. The points chiefly debated in the House of Lords were the address of thanks for his majesty's speech, the mortmain bill, the Quakers' bill, which was thrown out, and that for the prevention of smuggling, which did not pass without division and protest. On the twentieth day of May the king closed the session with a speech, in which he told both Houses, that a further convention, touching the execution of the preliminaries, had been made and communicated to him by the emperor and most christian king; and that negotiations were carrying

on by the several powers engaged in the late war, in order to settle a general pacification. He expressed great concern at seeing such seeds of dissatisfaction sown among his people: he protested it was his desire, and should be his care, to preserve the present constitution in church and state as by law established: he recommended harmony and mutual affection among all Protestants of the nation, as the great security of that happy establishment; and signified his intention to visit his German dominions. Accordingly the Parliament was no sooner prorogued than he set out for Hanover, after having appointed the queen regent in his absence.

REMARKABLE RIOT AT EDINBURGH.

Such a degree of licentiousness prevailed over the whole nation, that the kingdom was filled with tumult and riots, which might have been prevented by proper regulations of the civil government in the due execution of the laws. The most remarkable of these disturbances happened at Edinburgh, on the seventh day of September. John Porteous, who commanded the guard paid by that city, a man of brutal disposition and abandoned morals, had, at the execution of a smuggler, been provoked by some insults from the populace to order his men, without using the previous formalities of the law, to fire with shot among the crowd; by which precipitate order several innocent persons lost their lives. Porteous was tried for murder, convicted, and received sentence of death; but the queen, as guardian of the realm, thought proper to indulge him with a reprieve. The common people of Edinburgh resented this lenity shown to a criminal, who was the object of their detestation. They remembered that pardons had been granted to divers military delinquents in that country, who had been condemned by legal trial. They seemed to think those were encouragements to oppression: they were

George the Second.

The populace assembled in different bodies about ten o'clock at night. They blocked up the gates of the city, to prevent the admission of the troops that were quartered in the suburbs. They surprised and disarmed the town guards. They broke open the prison doors, dragged Porteus from thence to the place of execution, and leaving him hanging by the neck, on a dyer's pole, quietly dispersed to their several habitations.

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fired by a national jealousy; they were stimulated by the relations and friends of those who had been murdered; and they resolved to wreak their vengeance on the author of that tragedy, by depriving him of life on the very day which the judges had fixed for his execution. Thus determined, they assembled in different bodies, about ten o'clock at night. They blocked up the gates of the city, to prevent the admission of the troops that were quartered in the suburbs. They surprised and disarmed the town-guards; they broke open the prison-doors; dragged Porteous from thence to the place of execution; and, leaving him hanging by the neck on a dyer's pole, quietly dispersed to their several habitations. This exploit was performed with such conduct and deliberation as seemed to be the result of a plan formed by some persons of consequence; it therefore became the object of a very severe inquiry.

RUPTURE BETWEEN THE CZARINA AND THE OTTOMAN PORTE.

During this summer a rupture happened between the Turks and the Russians, which last reduced the city of Asoph on the Black Sea, and overran the greatest part of Crim Tartary. The czarina declared war against the Ottoman Porte, because the Tartars of the Crimea had made incursions upon her frontiers; and when she complained of these disorders to the vizir, she received no satisfaction; besides, a large body of Tartars had, by order of that minister, marched through the Russian provinces in despite of the empress, and committed terrible havoc in their route. The emperor was obliged to engage as a party in this war, by a treaty offensive and defensive, which he had many years before concluded with the czarina. Yet, before he declared himself, he joined the maritime powers in offering his mediation to the sultan, who was very well disposed to peace; but

the czarina insisted upon her retaining Asoph, which her forces had reduced; and this preliminary article being rejected, as dishonourable to the Ottoman empire, the court of Vienna began to make preparations for war. By this time all the belligerent powers in Italy had agreed to the preliminaries of peace concluded between the emperor and France. The Duke of Lorraine had espoused the emperor's eldest daughter, the Archduchess Maria Theresa, and ceded Lorraine to France, even before he succeeded to Tuscany. Don Carlos was crowned King of Sicily; Stanislaus abdicated the crown of Poland; and Augustus was universally acknowledged sovereign of that kingdom. The preliminaries were approved and accepted by the diet of the empire: the King of Spain sent orders for his troops to evacuate Tuscany; and the provinces in Italy yielded to the house of Austria. Prince Eugene, who had managed the interest of the emperor on this occasion, did not live to see the happy fruits of this negotiation. He died at Vienna in April, at the age of seventy-three, leaving behind him the character of an invincible hero and consummate politician. He was not long survived by Count Staremberg, another imperial general, who ranked next to the prince in military reputation. About the same time Great Britain sustained a national loss in the death of Lord Chancellor Talbot, who, by his worth, probity, and acquired accomplishments, had dignified the great office to which he had been raised. He died universally lamented, in the month of February, at the age of fifty-two, and was succeeded on the bench by Lord Hardwicke.

THE SESSION OF PARLIAMENT OPENED BY COMMISSION.

The king being indisposed, in consequence of having been fatigued by a very tempestuous passage from Holland, the Parliament was prorogued from the twenty-

first day of January to the first of February, and then the session was opened by commission. The lord chancellor, as one of the peers authorised by this commission, made a speech in his majesty's name to both Houses. With respect to foreign affairs, he told them, that the respective acts of cession being exchanged, and orders given for the evacuation and possession of the several countries and places by the powers concerned, according to the allotment and disposition of the preliminary articles, the great work of re-establishing the general tranquillity was far advanced: that, however, common prudence called upon them to be very attentive to the final conclusion of the new settlement. He said, his majesty could not, without surprise and concern, observe the many contrivances and attempts carried on, in various shapes and in different parts of the nation, tumultuously to resist and obstruct the execution of the laws, and to violate the peace of the kingdom. He observed, that the consideration of the height to which these audacious practices might rise, if not timely suppressed, afforded a melancholy prospect, and required particular attention, lest they should affect private persons in the quiet enjoyment of their property, as well as the general peace and good order of the whole. After the Commons had agreed to an address, and heard counsel on some controverted elections, they proceeded to take the supply into consideration. They voted ten thousand men for the sea-service. They continued for the land-service the same number they had maintained in times of tranquillity, amounting to seventeen thousand seven hundred and four: but this measure was not adopted without opposition; the money was raised by the land and malt-taxes, reinforced with one million granted out of the sinking-fund.

MOTION IN BOTH HOUSES FOR A SETTLEMENT ON THE PRINCE OF WALES.

The chief subject of contention that presented itself in the course of this session was a motion which Mr. Pulteney made for an address to his majesty, that he would be pleased to settle one hundred thousand pounds a year upon the Prince of Wales. He represented that such provision was conformable to the practice of ancient time: that what he proposed had been enjoyed by his present majesty in the lifetime of his father; and that a settlement of this nature was reasonable and necessary to ascertain the independency of the apparent heir to the crown. The motion was vigorously opposed by Sir Robert Walpole, as an encroachment on the prerogative; as an officious intermeddling in the king's family affairs; and as an effort to set his majesty and the prince at variance. But a misunderstanding, it seems, had already happened in the royal family. The minister in the midst of his harangue told the House, by his majesty's command, that on the preceding day the king had sent a message to the prince by several noblemen of the first quality, importing that his majesty had given orders for settling a jointure upon the Princess of Wales, suitable to her high rank and dignity, which he would in a proper time lay before Parliament, in order to be rendered more certain and effectual: that although his royal highness had not thought fit, by any application to his majesty, to desire that his allowance of fifty thousand pounds might be rendered less precarious, the king, to prevent the bad consequences which he apprehended might follow from the undutiful measures which his majesty was informed the prince had been advised to pursue, would grant to his royal highness, for his majesty's life, the said fifty thousand pounds per annum, to be issued out of the civil-list revenues, over and above the prince's revenues

arising from the duchy of Cornwall, which his majesty thought a very competent allowance, considering his own numerous issue, and the great expense which did and must necessarily attend an honourable provision for the whole royal family: that the prince, by a verbal answer, desired their lordships to lay him with all humility at his majesty's feet; to assure him that he did, and ever should, retain the utmost duty for his royal person: that he was very thankful for any instance of his majesty's goodness to him or to the princess, and particularly for his majesty's gracious intention of settling a jointure upon her royal highness; but that, as to the message, the affair was now out of his hands, and therefore he could give no answer to it: that his royal highness afterwards used many dutiful expressions towards his majesty, adding, "Indeed, my lords, it is in other hands, and I am sorry for it;" or words to that effect. Sir Robert Walpole then endeavoured to demonstrate, that the annual sum of fifty thousand pounds was as much as the king could afford to allow for the prince's maintenance; and he expatiated upon the bad consequences that might ensue, if the son should be rendered altogether independent of the father.

These suggestions did not pass unanswered. Sir Robert Walpole had asserted, that the Parliament had no right to interfere in the creation or maintenance of a Prince of Wales; and that in the case of Richard II. who, upon the death of his father the Black Prince, was created Prince of Wales, in consequence of an address or petition from Parliament, that measure was in all probability directed by the king himself. In answer to this assertion it was observed, that probably the king would not have been so forward in creating his grandson Prince of Wales, if he had not been forced into this step by his Parliament; for Edward in his old age fell into a sort of love dotage, and gave himself entirely up to the management of his mistress, Alice Pierce, and his second

son, the Duke of Lancaster; a circumstance that raised a most reasonable jealousy in the Black Prince, at that time on his deathbed, who could not but be anxious about the safety and right of his only son, whom he found he was soon to leave a child in the hands of a doting grandfather, and an ambitious, aspiring uncle. The supporters of the motion observed, that the allowance of fifty thousand pounds was not sufficient to defray the prince's yearly expense, without allotting one shilling for acts of charity and munificence; and that the several deductions for land-taxes and fees reduced it to forty-three thousand pounds. They affirmed that his whole income, including the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, did not exceed fifty-two thousand pounds a year, though, by his majesty's own regulation, the expense of the prince's household amounted to sixty-three thousand. They proved, that the produce of the civil-list exceeded nine hundred thousand pounds, a sum above one hundred thousand pounds a year more than was enjoyed by his late majesty; and that, in the first year of the late king, the whole expense of his household and civil government did not much exceed four hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year. They observed, that the Parliament added one hundred and forty thousand pounds annually for acts of charity and bounty, together with the article of secret service money; and allowed one hundred thousand pounds for the maintenance of the Prince of Wales: that the article of secret service money had prodigiously increased in the late reign: by an account which happened to be laid before the Parliament, it appeared that vast sums of money had been given for purposes which nobody understood, and to persons whom nobody knew. In the beginning of the following session several members proposed that this extraordinary account should be taken into consideration; but the inquiry was warded off by the other party, who declared that the Parliament could not examine any

account which had been presented to a former session. The debate was fierce and long; and ended in a division, by which the motion was rejected. A motion of the same nature was made by Lord Carteret in the House of Peers, and gave rise to a very keen dispute, maintained by the same arguments, and issuing in the same termination.

SCHEME FOR REDUCING THE INTEREST OF THE NATIONAL DEBT.

The next remarkable contest was occasioned by a motion of Sir R. Walpole, who proposed the sum of one million should be granted to his majesty, towards redeeming the like sum of the increased capital of the South-Sea company, commonly called South-Sea annuities. Several members argued for the expediency of applying this sum to the payment of the debt due to the bank, as a part of that incumbrance was saddled with an interest of six per cent., whereas the interest paid for the other sums that constituted the public debt did not exceed four per cent. Many plausible arguments were offered on both sides of the question; and at length the motion was carried in the affirmative. The House having resolved itself into a committee to consider of the national debt, Sir John Barnard made a motion, for enabling his majesty to raise money either by the sale of annuities, or by borrowing at an interest not exceeding three per cent. to be applied towards redeeming the South-Sea annuities; and that such of the said annuitants as should be inclined to subscribe their respective annuities should be preferred to all others. He said, that even those public securities which bore an interest of three per cent. only were sold at a premium in Change-alley; he was therefore persuaded, that all those who were willing to give a premium for a three per cent. security would gladly lend their

money to the government at the same interest, should books of subscription be opened for that purpose, with an assurance that no part of the principal should be paid off for fourteen years. He expatiated upon the national advantages that would accrue from a reduction of interest. From easy and obvious calculations he inferred, that in a very little time the interest upon all the South-Sea annuities would be reduced from four to three per cent. without any danger to public credit, or breach of public faith: that then the produce of the sinking-fund would amount to fourteen hundred thousand pounds per annum, to be applied only towards redeeming the capital of the several trading companies: he proved that this measure would bring every one of them so much within the power of Parliament, that they would be glad to accept of three per cent. interest on any reasonable terms; in which case the sinking-fund would rise to one million six hundred thousand pounds per annum. Then the Parliament might venture to annihilate one half of it, by freeing the people from the taxes upon coals, candles, soap, leather, and such other impositions as lay heavy upon the poor labourers and manufacturers: the remaining part of the sinking-fund might be applied towards the discharge of those annuities and public debts which bore an interest of three per cent. only, and afterwards towards diminishing the capitals of the several trading companies till the term of fourteen years should be expired; then the sinking-fund would again amount to above a million yearly, which would be sufficient for paying them off, and freeing the nation entirely from all its incumbrances. This salutary scheme was violently opposed by Alderman Heathcote, and other partisans of the ministry: yet all their objections were refuted; and, in order to defeat the project, they were obliged to have recourse to artifice. Mr. Winnington moved, that all the public creditors, as well as the South-Sea annuitants, should be compre-

hended. Sir John Barnard demonstrated, that it might be easy for the government to borrow money at three per cent. sufficient for paying off such of the proprietors of four-and-twenty millions as were not willing to accept of that interest, but it would be extremely difficult to borrow enough to satisfy the proprietors of four-and-forty millions, who might choose to have their principal rather than such an interest. Nevertheless, resolutions were founded on this and other alterations of the original scheme; and a bill was immediately prepared. It produced many other debates, and was at last postponed by dint of ministerial influence. The same venerable patriot, who projected this scheme, moved that as soon as the interest of all the national redeemable debt should be reduced to three per cent. the House would take off some of the heavy taxes which oppressed the poor and the manufacturers; but this motion was rejected by the majority.

BILL AGAINST THE CITY OF EDINBURGH.

The last disputes of this session were excited by a bill sent down from the Lords for punishing the magistrates and city of Edinburgh, on account of the murder of John Porteous. In the beginning of the session Lord Carteret recapitulated the several tumults and riots which had lately happened in different parts of the kingdom. He particularly insisted upon the atrocious murder of Captain Porteous, as a flagrant insult upon the government, and a violation of the public peace, so much the more dangerous, as it seemed to have been concerted and executed with deliberation and decency. He suspected that some citizens of Edinburgh had been concerned in the murder, not only from this circumstance, but likewise because, notwithstanding the reward of two hundred pounds, which had been offered by proclamation for the discovery of any person who acted in that tragedy, not one individual

had as yet been detected. He seemed to think that the magistrates had encouraged the riot, and that the city had forfeited its charter; and he proposed a minute inquiry into the particulars of the affair. He was seconded by the Duke of Newcastle and the Earl of Ilay; though this last nobleman differed in opinion from him with respect to the charter of the city, which, he said, could not be justly forfeited by the fault of the magistracy. The Lords resolved, that the magistrates and other persons from whom they might obtain the necessary information concerning this riot should be ordered to attend; and that an address should be presented to his majesty, desiring that the different accounts and papers relating to the murder of Captain Porteous might be submitted to the perusal of the House. These documents being accordingly examined, and all the witnesses arrived, including three Scottish judges, a debate arose about the manner in which these last should be interrogated, whether at the bar, at the table, or on the woolsacks. Some Scottish lords asserted that they had a right to be seated next to the judges of England; but after a long debate this claim was rejected, and the judges of Scotland appeared at the bar in their robes. A bill was brought in to disable Alexander Wilson, Esquire, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, from enjoying any office or place of magistracy in the city of Edinburgh, or elsewhere in Great Britain; for imprisoning the said Alexander Wilson; for abolishing the guard of that city; and for taking away the gates of the Nether-bow-port, so as to open a communication between the city and suburbs, in which the king's troops are quartered. The Duke of Argyle, in arguing against this bill, said he could not think of a proceeding more harsh or unprecedented than the present, as he believed there was no instance of the whole weight of parliamentary indignation, for such he called a proceeding by a bill *ex post facto*, falling upon any single

person, far less upon any community, for crimes that were within the reach of the inferior courts of justice; for this reason he observed, that if the lord provost and citizens of Edinburgh should suffer in the terms of the present bill, they would suffer by a cruel, unjust, and fantastical proceeding; a proceeding of which the worst use might be made, if ever the nation should have the misfortune to fall under a partial, self-interested administration. He told them he sat in the Parliament of Scotland when that part of the treaty of union relating to the privileges of the royal burghs was settled on the same footing as religion; that is, they were made unalterable by any subsequent Parliament of Great Britain. Notwithstanding the eloquence and warmth of his remonstrance, the bill was sent down to the House of Commons, where it produced a violent contest. The Commons set on foot a severe scrutiny into the particular circumstances that preceded and attended the murder of Porteous: from the examination of the witnesses, it appeared that no freeman or citizen of Edinburgh was concerned in the riot, which was chiefly composed of country people, excited by the relations of some unhappy persons whom Porteous and his men had slain at the execution of the smuggler; and these were assisted by prentice-boys, and the lowest class of vagabonds that happened to be at Edinburgh: that the lord provost had taken all the precautions to prevent mischief that his reflection suggested; that he even exposed his person to the rage of the multitude, in his endeavour to disperse them; and that, if he had done amiss, he erred from want of judgment, rather than from want of inclination to protect the unhappy Porteous. It likewise appeared, that Mr. Lindsay, member for the city of Edinburgh, had gone in person to General Moyle, commander of the forces in North Britain, informed him of the riot, implored his immediate assistance, and promised to conduct his troops into the city;

and that his suit was rejected, because he could not produce a written order from the magistracy, which he neither could have obtained in such confusion, nor ventured to carry about his person through the midst of an enraged populace. The Scottish members exerted themselves with uncommon vivacity in defence of their capital. They were joined by Sir John Barnard, Lord Cornbury, Mr. Shippen, and Mr. Oglethorpe. Lord Polwarth declared, that if any gentleman would show where one argument in the charge against the lord provost and the city of Edinburgh had been proved, he would that instant give his vote for the commitment of the bill. He said, if gentlemen would lay their hands upon their hearts, and ask themselves whether they would have voted in this manner had the case of Edinburgh been that of the city of Bristol, York, or Norwich, he was persuaded they would have required that every tittle of the charge against them should have been fully and undeniably proved. Some amendments and mitigations being inserted in the bill, it passed the House, was sent back to the Lords, who agreed to the alterations, and then received the royal assent.

PLAY-HOUSE BILL.

The next effort of the minister was obliquely levelled at the liberty of the press, which it was much for his interest to abridge. The errors of his conduct, the mystery of that corruption which he had so successfully reduced to a system, and all the blemishes of his administration, had been exposed and ridiculed, not only in political periodical writings produced by the most eminent hands, but likewise in a succession of theatrical pieces, which met with uncommon success among the people. He either wanted judgment to distinguish men of genius, or could find none that would engage in his service: he therefore employed a set of wretched

authors, void of understanding and ingenuity. They undertook the defence of his ministry, and answered the animadversions of his antagonists. The match was so extremely unequal, that, instead of justifying his conduct, they exposed it to additional ridicule and contempt, and he saw himself in danger of being despised by the whole nation. He resolved to seize the first opportunity to choke those canals through which the torrent of censure had flowed upon his character. The manager of a playhouse communicated to him a manuscript farce, entitled the Golden Rump, which was fraught with treason and abuse upon the government, and had been presented to the stage for exhibition. This performance was produced in the House of Commons. The minister descanted upon the insolence, the malice, the immorality, and the seditious calumny, which had been of late propagated in theatrical pieces. A bill was brought in to limit the number of playhouses; to subject all dramatic writers to the inspection of the lord chamberlain; and to compel them to take out a licence for every production before it could appear on the stage. Notwithstanding a vigorous opposition, this bill passed through both Houses with extraordinary despatch, and obtained the royal sanction. In this debate the Earl of Chesterfield distinguished himself by an excellent speech, that will ever endear his character to all the friends of genius and literature, to all those who are warmed with zeal for the liberties of their country. "Our stage (said he) ought certainly to be kept within due bounds; but, for this purpose, our laws as they stand at present are sufficient. If our stage-players at any time exceed those bounds, they ought to be prosecuted; they may be punished. We have precedents, we have examples of persons punished for things less criminal than some pieces which have been lately represented: a new law must, therefore, be unnecessary; and in the present case it cannot

be unnecessary without being dangerous. Every unnecessary restraint is a fetter upon the legs, is a shackle upon the hands of liberty. One of the greatest blessings we enjoy, one of the greatest blessings a people can enjoy, is liberty. But every good in this life has its allay of evil. Licentiousness is the allay of liberty. It is an ebullition, an excrescence; it is a speck upon the eye of the political body, which I can never touch but with a gentle, with a trembling hand; lest I destroy the body, lest I injure the eye, upon which it is apt to appear. If the stage becomes at any time licentious, if a play appears to be a libel upon the government, or upon any particular man, the king's courts are open: the law is sufficient to punish the offender. If poets and players are to be restrained, let them be restrained as other subjects are, by the known laws of their country: if they offend, let them be tried as every Englishman ought to be, by God and their country. Do not let us subject them to the arbitrary will and pleasure of any one man. A power lodged in the hands of a single man to judge and determine without limitation, control, or appeal, is a sort of power unknown to our laws, inconsistent with our constitution. It is a higher, a more absolute power than we trust even to the king himself; and, therefore, I must think we ought not to vest any such power in his majesty's lord chamberlain." His arguments had no effect, though the House admired his elocution; and the playhouse bill passed into a law. On the twenty-first day of June the king made a short speech to both Houses, and the lord chancellor prorogued the Parliament.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Russians take Oczakow.—Death of Gaston de Medicis, Duke of Tuscany.—Death of Caroline, Queen Consort of England.—Dispute in Parliament about the standing Army.—Spanish Depredations.—Motives of the Minister for avoiding a War.—Address to the King on the Subject of the Depredations.—Bill for securing the Trade of his Majesty's Subjects in America.—Debates in the House of Lords.—Birth of Prince George.—Admiral Haddock sails with a Squadron to the Mediterranean.—Progress of the War against the Turks.—Dispute and Rupture between Hanover and Denmark.—Sir Robert Walpole extols the Convention in the House of Commons.—Motion for an Address, that the Representations, Letters, &c. relating to the Spanish Depredations should be laid before the House.—Petitions against the Convention.—Substance of that Agreement.—Debate in the House of Commons on the Convention.—Secession of the chief Members in the Opposition.—Debate in the House of Lords upon an Address to his Majesty touching the Convention.—Message from the Throne touching a Subsidy to Denmark, and a Power to augment the Forces of the Kingdom.—Parliament prorogued.—The King of Spain publishes a Manifesto.—The Emperor and Czarina conclude a Peace with the Turks.—Preparations for War in England.—Apology in the House of Commons for the seceding Members.—Pension-bill revived and lost.—Portobello taken by Admiral Vernon.—Hard Frost.—Marriage of the Princess Mary to the Prince of Hesse.—Strong Armament sent to the West Indies.—Death of the Emperor and Czarina.—Proceedings in Parliament.—Seamen's Bill.—Discontents against the Ministry.—Motion for removing Sir Robert Walpole from his Majesty's Councils and Presence for ever.—Debate on the Mutiny Bill.—Proceedings in the House of Lords.—Close of the last Session of this Parliament.

THE RUSSIANS TAKE OCZAKOW.

A CONGRESS had been opened at Niemerow, in Poland, to compromise the differences between the czarina and the grand signor; but this proving ineffectual, the emperor declared war against the Turks, and demanded

assistance from the diet of the empire. He concerted the operations of the campaign with the Empress of Muscovy. It was agreed that the imperialists, under Count Seckendorf, should attack Widin, in Servia, while the Russians, commanded by Count de Munich, should penetrate to the Ukraine, and besiege Oczakow, on the Boristhenes. They accordingly advanced against this place, which was garrisoned by twenty thousand men; and on the side of the Boristhenes defended by eighteen galleys. The Muscovites carried on their approaches with such impetuosity and perseverance, that the Turks were terrified at their valour, and in a few days capitulated. Among those who signalized themselves by uncommon marks of prowess in these attacks was General Keith, now field-marshal in the Prussian service, who was dangerously wounded on this occasion. Meanwhile Count Seckendorf, finding it impossible to reduce Widin without a squadron of ships on the Danube, turned his arms against Nissa, which was surrendered to him on the eight-and-twentieth day of July; but this was the farthest verge of his good fortune. The Turks attacked the post which the imperialists occupied along the Danube. They took the fort of Padudil, burned the town of Ilas in Wallachia, and plundered the neighbouring villages. The Prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen, who had invested Bagnalack in Bosnia, was defeated, and obliged to repass the Saave. Count Seckendorf was recalled to Vienna; and the command of the army devolved upon Count Philippi. Count Kevenhuller was obliged to retreat from Servia; and Nissa was retaken by the Mussulmen. The conferences at Niemerow were broken off; and the Turkish plenipotentiaries returned to Constantinople.

The kingdom of Poland now enjoyed the most perfect repose under the dominion of Augustus. Ferdinand, the old Duke of Courland, dying without issue, the succession was disputed by the Teutonic order and

the kingdom of Poland, while the states of Courland claimed a right of election, and sent deputies to Petersburg, imploring the protection of the czarina. A body of Russian troops immediately entered that country; and the states elected the Count de Biron, high chamberlain to the Empress of Muscovy. The Elector of Cologne, as grand master of the Teutonic order, protested against this election; but the King of Poland agreed to it, on certain conditions settled at Dantzic with the commissaries of the new duke and those of the czarina. In the month of July, John Gaston de Medicis, Great Duke of Tuscany, died at Florence; and the Prince de Craon took possession of his territories, in the name of the Duke of Lorraine, to whom the emperor had already granted the eventual investiture of that duchy.

DEATH OF CAROLINE, QUEEN CONSORT OF ENGLAND.

In England, the attention of the public was attracted by an open breach in the royal family. The Princess of Wales had advanced to the very last month of her pregnancy before the king and queen were informed of her being with child. She was twice conveyed from Hampton-court to the palace of St. James's, when her labour-pains were supposed to be approaching; and at length was delivered of a princess in about two hours after her arrival. The king, being apprised of this event, sent a message by the Earl of Essex to the prince, expressing his displeasure at the conduct of his royal highness, as an indignity offered to himself and the queen. The prince deprecated his majesty's anger in several submissive letters, and implored the queen's mediation. The princess joined her entreaties to those of his royal highness; but all their humility and supplication proved ineffectual. The king, in another message sent by the Duke of Grafton, observed, that the prince had removed

the princess twice in the week immediately preceding the day of her delivery from the place of his majesty's residence, in expectation of her labour; and both times, on his return, industriously concealed from the knowledge of the king and queen every circumstance relating to this important affair: that at last, without giving any notice to their majesties, he had precipitately hurried the princess from Hampton-court, in a condition not to be named: that the whole tenor of his conduct, for a considerable time, had been so entirely void of all real duty to the king, that his majesty had reason to be highly offended with him. He gave him to understand, that until he should withdraw his regard and confidence from those by whose instigation and advice he was directed and encouraged in his unwarrantable behaviour to his majesty and the queen, and return to his duty, he should not reside in the palace: he therefore signified his pleasure that he should leave St. James's with all his family, when it could be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the princess. In obedience to this order the prince retired to Kew, and made other efforts to be re-admitted into his majesty's favour, which, however, he could not retrieve. Whatever might have been his design in concealing so long from the king and queen the pregnancy of the princess, and afterwards hurrying her from place to place in such a condition, to the manifest hazard of her life, his majesty had certainly cause to be offended at this part of his conduct; though the punishment seems to have been severe, if not rigorous; for he was not even admitted into the presence of the queen his mother, to express his duty to her, in her last moments, to implore her forgiveness, and receive her last blessing. She died of a mortification in her bowels, on the twentieth day of November, in the fifty-fifth year of her age, regretted as a princess of uncommon sagacity, and as a pattern of conjugal virtue.

DISPUTE IN PARLIAMENT ABOUT THE STANDING ARMY.

The king opened the session of Parliament on the twenty-fourth day of January, with a short speech, recommending the despatch of the public business with prudence and unanimity. Each House presented a warm address of condolence on the queen's death, with which he seemed to be extremely affected. Though the House of Commons unanimously sympathized with the king in his affliction, the minister still met with contradiction in some of his favourite measures. One would imagine that all the arguments for and against a standing army in time of peace had been already exhausted; but, when it was moved that the same number of land-forces which they had voted in the preceding year should be continued in pay for the ensuing year, the dispute was renewed with surprising vivacity, and produced some reasons which had not been suggested before. The adherents of the minister fairly owned, that if the army should be disbanded, or even considerably reduced, they believed the tory interest would prevail: that the present number of forces was absolutely necessary to maintain the peace of the kingdom, which was filled with clamour and discontent, as well as to support the whig interest; and that they would vote for keeping up four times the number, should it be found expedient for that purpose. The members in the opposition replied, that this declaration was a severe satire on the ministry, whose conduct had given birth to such a spirit of discontent. They said it was in effect a tacit acknowledgment, that what they called the whig interest was no more than an inconsiderable party, which had engrossed the administration by indirect methods; which acted contrary to the sense of the nation; and depended for support upon a military power, by which the people

in general were overawed, and consequently enslaved. They affirmed, that the discontent of which the ministry complained was in a great measure owing to that very standing army, which perpetuated their taxes, and hung over their heads as the instruments of arbitrary power and oppression. Lord Polwarth explained the nature of whig principles, and demonstrated that the party which distinguished itself by this appellation no longer retained the maxims by which the whigs were originally characterized. Sir John Hynde Cotton, who spoke with the courage and freedom of an old English baron, declared he never knew a member of that House, who acted on true whig principles, vote for a standing army in time of peace: "I have heard of whigs (said he) who opposed all unlimited votes of credit: I have heard of whigs who looked upon corruption as the greatest curse that could befal any nation: I have heard of whigs who esteemed the liberty of the press to be the most valuable privilege of a free people, and triennial Parliaments as the greatest bulwark of their liberties; and I have heard of a whig administration which has resented injuries done to the trade of the nation, and revenged insults offered to the British flag." The ministry triumphed as usual, and the same number of forces was continued.

SPANISH DEPREDATIONS.

Ever since the treaty of Seville, the Spaniards in America had almost incessantly insulted and distressed the commerce of Great Britain. They disputed the right of English traders to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, and gather salt on the island of Tortugas; though that right was acknowledged by implication in all the treaties which had been lately concluded between the two nations. The captains of their armed vessels, known by the name of guarda-costas, had made a prac-

tice of boarding and plundering British ships, on pretence of searching for contraband commodities, on which occasions they had behaved with the utmost insolence, cruelty, and rapine. Some of their ships of war had actually attacked a fleet of English merchant-ships at the island of Tortugas, as if they had been at open enmity with England. They had seized and detained a great number of British vessels, imprisoned their crews, and confiscated their cargoes, in violation of treaties, in defiance of common justice and humanity. Repeated memorials were presented to the court of Spain by the British ambassador at Madrid. He was amused with evasive answers, vague promises of inquiry, and cedulas of instructions sent to the Spanish governors in America, to which they paid no sort of regard. Not but that the Spaniards had reason to complain, in their turn, of the illicit commerce which the English traders from Jamaica and other islands carried on with their subjects on the Continent of South America; though this could not justify the depredations and cruelties which the commanders of the guarda-costas had committed, without provocation or pretence.

MOTIVES OF THE MINISTER FOR AVOIDING A WAR.

The merchants of England loudly complained of these outrages; the nation was fired with resentment, and cried for vengeance; but the minister appeared cold, phlegmatic, and timorous. He knew that a war would involve him in such difficulties as must of necessity endanger his administration. The treasure which he now employed for domestic purposes must in that case be expended in military armaments: the wheels of that machine on which he had raised his influence would no longer move: the opposition would of consequence gain ground, and the imposition of fresh taxes, necessary for

the maintenance of the war, would fill up the measure of popular resentment against his person and ministry. Moved by these considerations, he industriously endeavoured to avoid a rupture, and to obtain some sort of satisfaction by dint of memorials and negotiations, in which he betrayed his own fears to such a degree, as animated the Spaniards to persist in their depredations, and encouraged the court of Madrid to disregard the remonstrances of the British ambassador. But this apprehension of war did not proceed from Spain only: the two branches of the house of Bourbon were now united by politics as well as by consanguinity; and he did not doubt that, in case of a rupture with Spain, they would join their forces against Great Britain. Petitions were delivered to the House by merchants from different parts of the kingdom, explaining the repeated violences to which they had been exposed, and imploring relief of the Parliament. These were referred to a committee of the whole House; and an order was made to admit the petitioners, if they should think fit, to be heard by themselves or by counsel. Sir John Barnard moved for an address to the king, that all the memorials and papers relating to the Spanish depredations should be laid before the House; and this, with some alteration proposed by Sir Robert Walpole, was actually presented. In compliance with the request, an enormous multitude of letters and memorials was produced.

The House, in a grand committee, proceeded to hear counsel for the merchants, and examine evidence; by which it appeared that amazing acts of wanton cruelty and injustice had been perpetrated by Spaniards on the subjects of Great Britain. Mr. Pulteney expatiated upon these circumstances of barbarity. He demonstrated, from treaties, the right of the British traders to the logwood of Campeachy, and to the salt of Tortugas: he exposed the pusillanimity of the minister, and the futility of his negotiations: he moved for such

resolutions as would evince the resentment of an injured nation, and the vigour of a British Parliament. These were warmly combated by Sir Robert Walpole, who affirmed, they would cramp the ministers in their endeavours to compromise these differences: that they would frustrate their negotiations, intrench upon the king's prerogative, and precipitate the nation into an unnecessary and expensive war. Answers produced replies, and a general debate ensued. A resolution was reported; but the question being put for re-committing it, was carried in the negative. The House, however, agreed to an address, beseeching his majesty to use his endeavours to obtain effectual relief for his injured subjects, to convince the court of Spain that his majesty could no longer suffer such constant and repeated insults and injuries to be carried on, to the dishonour of his crown, and to the ruin of his trading subjects; and assuring him, that in case his royal and friendly instances with the catholic king should miscarry, the House would effectually support his majesty in taking such measures as honour and justice should make it necessary for him to pursue. To this address the king made a favourable answer.

BILL FOR SECURING THE TRADE OF HIS MAJESTY'S SUBJECTS IN AMERICA.

The next important subject on which both sides exercised their talents was a bill prepared and brought in by Mr. Pulteney, for the more effectual securing the trade of his majesty's subjects in America. This was no other than the revival of part of two acts passed in the reign of Queen Anne, by which the property of all prizes taken from the enemy was vested in the captors; while the sovereign was empowered to grant commissions or charters to any persons or societies, for taking any ships, goods, harbours, lands, or fortifications of

the nation's enemies in America, and for holding and enjoying the same as their own property and estate for ever. The ministry endeavoured to evade the discussion of this bill, by amusing the House with other business, until an end should be put to the session. A mean artifice was practised with this view; and some severe altercation passed between Sir Robert Walpole and Mr. Pulteney. At length the bill was read, and gave rise to a very long and warm contest, in which the greatest orators of both sides found opportunities to display their eloquence and satire. Mr. Pulteney defended the bill with all the ardour of paternal affection; but, notwithstanding his warmest endeavours, it was rejected upon a division.

When the mutiny bill was sent up to the House of Lords, a long debate arose upon the number of troops voted for the ensuing year. Lord Carteret explained the situation of affairs in almost every nation of Europe with great conciseness and precision. He demonstrated the improbability of a rupture between Great Britain and any power against which a land army could be of any service. He examined the domestic circumstances of the nation; and proved, that whatever discontents there might be in the kingdom, there was little or no disaffection, and no seeming design to overturn or disturb the government. In answer to an argument, that such a number of regular forces was necessary for preventing or quelling tumults, and for enabling the civil magistrate to execute the laws of his country, he expressed his hope that he should never see the nation reduced to such unfortunate circumstances: he said, a law which the civil power was unable to execute, must either be in itself oppressive, or such a one as afforded a handle for oppression. In arguing for a reduction of the forces, he took notice of the great increase of the national expense. He observed, that before the Revolution, the people of England did not raise above

two millions for the whole of the public charge; but now what was called the current expense, for which the Parliament annually provided, exceeded that sum; besides the civil-list, the interest due to the public creditors, and the sinking-fund, which, added together, composed a burden of six millions yearly. The Earl of Chesterfield, on the same subject, affirmed, that slavery and arbitrary power were the certain consequences of keeping up a standing army for any number of years. It is the machine by which the chains of slavery are riveted upon a free people. They may be secretly prepared by corruption; but, unless a standing army protected those that forged them, the people would break them asunder, and chop off the polluted hands by which they were prepared. By degrees a free people must be accustomed to be governed by an army; by degrees that army must be made strong enough to hold them in subjection. England had for many years been accustomed to a standing army, under pretence of its being necessary to assist the civil power; and by degrees the number and strength of it have been increasing. At the accession of the late king it did not exceed six thousand: it soon amounted to double that number, which has been since augmented under various pretences. He therefore concluded, that slavery, under the disguise of an army for protecting the liberties of the people, was creeping in upon them by degrees; if no reduction should be made, he declared he should expect in a few years to hear some minister, or favourite of a minister, terrifying the House with imaginary plots and invasions, and making the tour of Europe in search of possible dangers, to show the necessity of keeping up a mercenary standing army, three times as numerous as the present. In spite of those suggestions, the standing army maintained its ground. The same noblemen, assisted by Lord Bathurst, distinguished themselves in a debate upon the Spanish depredations, which compre-

hended the same arguments that were used in the House of Commons. They met with the same success in both. Resolutions equivalent to those of the Lower House were taken: an address was presented; and his majesty assured them he would repeat, in the most pressing manner, his instances at the court of Spain in order to obtain satisfaction and security for his subjects trading to America. This assurance was renewed in his speech at the close of the session, on the twentieth of May, when the Parliament was prorogued.

BIRTH OF PRINCE GEORGE.

At this period the Princess of Wales was delivered of a son, who was baptized by the name of George, now King of Great Britain. His birth was celebrated with uncommon rejoicings: addresses of congratulation were presented to the king by the two universities, and by almost all the cities and communities of the kingdom. But the Prince of Wales still laboured under the displeasure of his majesty, who had ordered the lord chamberlain to signify in the gazette, that no person who visited the prince should be admitted to the court of St. James's. His royal highness was divested of all the external marks of royalty, and lived like a private gentleman, cultivating the virtues of a social life, and enjoying the best fruits of conjugal felicity. In the latter end of this month, Rear-Admiral Haddock set sail with a strong squadron for the Mediterranean, which it was hoped would give weight to the negotiation of the British minister at the court of Madrid. The act to discourage the retail of spirituous liquors had incensed the populace to such a degree as occasioned numberless tumults in the cities of London and Westminster. They were so addicted to the use of that pernicious compound, known by the appellation of gin or geneva, that they ran all risks rather than forego it entirely; and so little regard

was paid to the law by which it was prohibited, that in less than two years twelve thousand persons within the bills of mortality were convicted of having sold it illegally. Nearly one-half of that number were cast in the penalty of one hundred pounds; and three thousand persons paid ten pounds each, for an exemption from the disgrace of being committed to the house of correction.

PROGRESS OF THE WAR AGAINST THE TURKS.

The war maintained by the emperor and the czarina against the Ottoman Porte had not yet produced any decisive event. Count Seckendorf was disgraced and confined on account of his ill success in the last campaign. General Doxat was tried by a council of war at Belgrade, and condemned to death, for having surrendered to the enemy the town of Nissa, in which he commanded. The diet of the empire granted a subsidy of fifty Roman months to the emperor, who began to make vigorous preparations for the ensuing campaign; but, in the mean time, Ragotski, Vaivode of Transylvania, revolted against the house of Austria, and brought a considerable army into the field, under the protection of the grand signor. He was immediately proclaimed a rebel, and a price set upon his head by the court of Vienna. The Turks taking the field early, reduced the fort of Usitza and Meadia, and undertook the siege of Orsova, which, however, they abandoned at the approach of the imperial army, commanded by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, assisted by Count Konigsegg. The Turks, being reinforced, marched back, and attacked the imperialists, by whom they were repulsed after an obstinate engagement. The Germans, notwithstanding this advantage, repassed the Danube; and then the infidels made themselves masters of Orsova, where they found a fine train of artillery, designed for the siege of Widin. By the conquest of this place the

Turks laid the Danube open to their galleys and vessels; and the Germans retired under the cannon of Belgrade. In the Ukraine, the Russians under General Count Munich obtained the advantage over the Turks in two engagements; and General Lacy routed the Tartars of the Crimea; but they returned in greater numbers, and harassed the Muscovites in such a manner, by intercepting their provisions and destroying the country, that they were obliged to abandon the lines of Precops.

DISPUTE AND RUPTURE BETWEEN HANOVER AND DENMARK.

In the month of October, an affair of very small importance produced a rupture between the King of Denmark and the Elector of Hanover. A detachment of Hanoverians took by assault the castle of Steinhorst, belonging to the privy counsellor Wederkop, and defended by thirty Danish dragoons, who had received orders to repel force by force. Several men were killed on both sides before the Hanoverians could enter the place, when the garrison was disarmed and conducted to the frontiers. This petty dispute, about a small territory, which did not yield the value of one thousand pounds a year, had well nigh involved Hanover in a war, which, in all probability, Great Britain must have maintained; but this dispute was compromised by a convention between the King of England and Denmark.

The session of Parliament was opened on the first day of February, when the king in his speech to both Houses gave them to understand, that a convention was concluded and ratified between him and the King of Spain, who had obliged himself to make reparation to the British subjects for their losses by certain stipulated payments: the plenipotentiaries were named and appointed for regulating, within a limited time, all those grievances and abuses which had hitherto interrupted

the commerce of Great Britain in the American seas; and for settling all matters in dispute, in such a manner as might for the future prevent and remove all new causes and pretences of complaint. The motion for an address of approbation was disputed as usual. Though the convention was not yet laid before the House, the nature of it was well known to the leaders of the opposition. Sir William Wyndham observed, that if the ministry had made the resolutions taken by the Parliament in the last session the foundation of their demands; if they had discovered a resolution to break off all treating, rather than depart from the sense of Parliament, either a defensive treaty might have been obtained, or by this time the worst would have been known; but, by what appeared from his majesty's speech, the convention was no other than a preliminary; and, in all probability, a very bad preliminary. He supposed the minister had ventured to clothe some of his creatures with full powers to give up the rights of the nation; for they might do it if they durst. Sir Robert Walpole, in answer to these suggestions, affirmed, that the ministry had on this occasion obtained more than ever on like occasions was known to be obtained: that they had reconciled the peace of their country with her true interest: that this peace was attended with all the advantages that the most successful arms could have procured: that future ages would consider this as the most glorious period of our history, and do justice to the councils that produced the happy event, which every gentleman divested of passion and prejudice was ready to do; and which he believed the present age, when rightly informed, would not refuse. In a word, he extolled his own convention with the most extravagant encomiums.

The House resolved to address the king, that copies of all the memorials, representations, letters, and papers, presented to his majesty, or his secretary of state, relat-

ing to depredations, should be submitted to the perusal of the House; but some members in the opposition were not contented with this resolution. Then Mr. Sandys, who may be termed the "motion-maker," moved for an address, desiring that the House might inspect all letters written, and instructions given by the secretaries of state, or commissioners of the admiralty, to any of the British governors in America, or any commander-in-chief, or captains of his majesty's ships of war, or his majesty's minister at the court of Spain, or any of his majesty's consuls in Europe, since the treaty of Seville, relating to losses which the British subjects had sustained by means of depredations committed by the subjects of Spain in Europe and America. This was an unreasonable proposal, suggested by the spirit of animosity and faction. Mr. H. Walpole justly observed, that a compliance with such an address might lay open the most private transactions of the cabinet, and discover secrets that ought, for the good of the kingdom, to be concealed. It would discover to the court of Spain the *ultimatum* of the king's demands and concessions, and the nation would thereby be deprived of many advantages which it might reap, were no such discovery made. He said, that as soon as the differences betwixt the two courts should arrive at such a crisis, and not before, the consuls were instructed to give notice to the merchants, that they might retire in time with their effects; but should such instruction come to the knowledge of the Spaniards, it would be a kind of watch-word to put them on their guard, and unavoidably occasion the ruin of many thousands of British subjects. Certain it is, no government could act either in external or domestic affairs with proper influence, dignity, and despatch, if every letter and instruction relating to an unfinished negotiation should be exposed to the view of such a numerous assembly, composed of individuals actuated by motives in themselves

diametrically opposite. The motion being rejected by the majority, the same gentleman moved again for an address, that his majesty would give directions for laying before the House copies of such memorials or representations as had been made, either to the King of Spain or to his ministers, since the treaty of Seville, relating to the depredations committed in Europe or America. A debate ensued; and, upon a division, the question passed in the negative.

PETITIONS AGAINST THE CONVENTION.

The House, in a committee of supply, voted twelve thousand seamen for the service of the ensuing year, and the standing army was continued without reduction, though powerfully attacked by the whole strength of the opposition. The Commons likewise ordered an address to his majesty, for the copies of several memorials since the treaty of Seville, touching the rights of Great Britain, or any infraction of treaties which had not been laid before them. These were accordingly submitted to the inspection of the House. By this time the convention itself was not only presented to the Commons, but also published for the information of the people. Divers merchants, planters, and others trading to America, the cities of London and Bristol, the merchants of Liverpool, and owners of sundry ships which had been seized by the Spaniards, offered petitions against the convention, by which the subjects of Spain were so far from giving up their groundless and unjustifiable practice of visiting and searching British ships sailing to and from the British plantations, that they appeared to have claimed the power of doing it as a right; for they insisted that the differences which had arisen concerning it should be referred to plenipotentiaries, to be discussed by them without even agreeing to abstain from such visitation and search during

the time that the discussion of this affair might last. They therefore prayed, that they might have an opportunity of being heard, and allowed to represent the great importance of the British trade to and from the plantations in America; the clear indisputable right which they had to enjoy it, without being stopped, visited, or searched by the Spaniards, on any pretence whatsoever; and the certain inevitable destruction of all the riches and strength derived to Great Britain from that trade, if a search of British ships sailing to and from their own plantations should be tolerated upon any pretext, or under any restrictions, or even if the freedom of this navigation should continue much longer in a state of uncertainty. These petitions were referred to the committee appointed to consider of the convention. Another remonstrance was likewise presented by the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, setting forth, that the King of Spain claimed that colony as part of his territories; and that, by the convention, the regulation of the limits of Carolina and Florida was referred to the determination of plenipotentiaries; so that the colony of Georgia, which undoubtedly belonged to the crown of Great Britain, was left in dispute, while the settlers remained in the most precarious and dangerous situation. It was moved, that the merchants should be heard by their counsel; but the proposal was strenuously opposed by the ministry, and rejected upon a division.

This famous convention, concluded at the Pardo on the fourteenth day of January, imported, that within six weeks, to be reckoned from the day on which the ratifications were exchanged, two ministers plenipotentiaries should meet at Madrid, to confer, and finally regulate the respective pretensions of the two crowns, with relation to the trade and navigation in America and Europe, and to the limits of Florida and Carolina, as well as concerning other points which remained like-

wise to be adjusted, according to the former treaties subsisting between the two nations: that the plenipotentiaries should finish their conferences within the space of eight months: that in the mean time no progress should be made in the fortifications of Florida and Carolina: that his catholic majesty should pay to the King of Great Britain the sum of ninety-five thousand pounds, for a balance due to the crown and subjects of Great Britain, after deduction made of the demands of the crown and subjects of Spain: that this sum should be employed for the satisfaction, discharge, and payment of the demands of the British subjects upon the crown of Spain: that this reciprocal discharge, however, should not extend or relate to the accounts and differences which subsisted and were to be settled between the crown of Spain and the Assiento company, nor to any particular or private contracts that might subsist between either of the two crowns, or their ministers, with the subjects of the other; or between the subjects and subjects of each nation respectively: that his catholic majesty should cause the sum of ninety-five thousand pounds to be paid at London within four months, to be reckoned from the day on which the ratifications were exchanged. Such was the substance of that convention, which alarmed and provoked the merchants and traders of Great Britain, excited the indignation of all those who retained any regard for the honour of their country, and raised a general cry against the minister who stood at the helm of administration.

DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON THE CONVENTION.

The eyes of the whole kingdom were now turned upon the House of Commons. The two contending parties summoned their whole force for the approaching dispute: on the day appointed for considering the con-

vention, four hundred members had taken their seats by eight in the morning. In a committee of the whole House, certain West India merchants and planters were heard against the convention; so that this and the following day were employed in reading papers and obtaining information. On the eighth day of March, Mr. H. Walpole having launched out in the praise of that agreement, moved for an address of approbation to his majesty. He was seconded by Mr. Campbell, of Pembrokeshire; and the debate began with extraordinary ardour. He who first distinguished himself in the lists was Sir Thomas Sanderson, at that time treasurer to the Prince of Wales, afterwards Earl of Scarborough. All the officers and adherents of his royal highness had joined the opposition; and he himself on this occasion sat in the gallery, to hear the debate on such an important transaction. Sir Thomas Sanderson observed, that the Spaniards by the convention, instead of giving us reparation, had obliged us to give them a general release. They had not allowed the word satisfaction to be so much as once mentioned in the treaty. Even the Spanish pirate who had cut off the ear of Captain Jenkins[a], and used the most insulting expression towards the person of the king—an expression which no British subject could decently repeat—an expression which no man that had a regard for his sovereign could ever forgive—even this fellow lived to enjoy the fruits of his rapine, and remained a living testimony of the cowardly tameness and mean submission of Great Britain, of the triumphant haughtiness and stubborn pride of Spain. Lord Gage, one of the most keen, spirited, and sarcastic orators in the House, stated in this manner the account of the satisfaction obtained from the court of Spain by the convention: the losses sustained by the Spanish depredations amounted to three hundred and forty thousand pounds; the com-

[a] See note [D], vol. vi.

missary, by a stroke of his pen, reduced this demand to two hundred thousand pounds; then forty-five thousand were struck off for prompt payment: he next allotted sixty thousand pounds as the remaining part of a debt pretended to be due to Spain, for the destruction of her fleet by Sir George Byng, though it appeared by the instructions on the table, that Spain had been already amply satisfied on that head: these deductions reduced the balance to ninety-five thousand pounds; but the King of Spain insisted upon the South-Sea company's paying immediately the sum of sixty-eight thousand pounds, as a debt due to him on one head of accounts, though, in other articles, his catholic majesty was indebted to the company a million over and above the demand: the remainder to be paid by Spain did not exceed seven-and-twenty thousand pounds, from which she insisted upon deducting whatever she might have already given in satisfaction for any of the British ships that had been taken; and on being allowed the value of the St. Theresa, a Spanish ship which had been seized in the port of Dublin. Mr. W. Pitt, with an energy of argument and diction peculiar to himself, declaimed against the convention, as insecure, unsatisfactory, and dishonourable to Great Britain. He said the great national objection, the searching of British ships, was not admitted, indeed, in the preamble; but stood there as the reproach of the whole, as the strongest evidence of the fatal submission that followed: on the part of Spain, an usurpation, an inhuman tyranny claimed and exercised over the American seas; on the part of England, an undoubted right, by treaties, and from God and nature, declared and asserted in the resolutions of Parliament, were now referred to the discussion of plenipotentiaries, upon one and the same equal foot. This undoubted right was to be discussed and regulated; and if to regulate be to prescribe rules, as in all construction it is, that right was, by the express

words of the convention, to be given up and sacrificed; for it must cease to be any thing from the moment it is submitted to limitation. Mr. Lyttelton, with equal force and fluency, answered the speech of Mr. H. Walpole. "After he had used many arguments to persuade us to peace (said he), to any peace, good or bad, by pointing out the dangers of a war, dangers I by no means allow to be such as he represents them, he crowned all those terrors with the name of the pretender. It would be the cause of the pretender. The pretender would come. Is the honourable gentleman sensible what this language imports? The people of England complain of the greatest wrongs and indignities: they complain of the interruption, the destruction, of their trade; they think the peace has left them in a worse condition than before; and, in answer to all these complaints, what are they told? Why, that their continuing to suffer all this, is the price they must pay to keep the king and his family on the throne of these realms. If this were true, it ought not to be owned; but it is far from truth; the very reverse is true. Nothing can weaken the family, nothing shake the establishment, but such measures as these, and such language as this." He affirmed, that if the ministers had proceeded conformably to the intentions of Parliament, they would either have acted with vigour, or have obtained a real security in an express acknowledgment of our right not to be searched as a preliminary, *sine qua non*, to our treating at all. Instead of this, they had referred it to plenipotentiaries. "Would you, sir, (said he) submit to a reference, whether you may travel unmolested from your house in town to your house in the country? Your right is clear and undeniable, why would you have it discussed? but much less would you refer it, if two of your judges belonged to a gang which has often stopped and robbed you in your way thither before."—The ministers, in vindication of the conven-

tion, asserted, that the satisfaction granted by Spain was adequate to the injury received; that it was only the preliminary of a treaty which would remove all causes of complaint; that war was always expensive and detrimental to a trading nation, as well as uncertain in its events; that France and Spain would certainly join their forces in case of a rupture with Great Britain; that there was not one power in Europe upon which the English could depend for effectual assistance; and that war would favour the cause and designs of a popish pretender. The House, upon a division, agreed to the address; but when a motion was made for its being re-committed, the two parties renewed the engagement with redoubled eagerness and impetuosity. Sir William Wyndham and Mr. Pulteney poured all the thunder of their eloquence against the insolence of Spain and the concessions of the British ministry. Sir Robert Walpole exerted all his fortitude and dexterity in defence of himself and his measures, and the question being put, the resolutions for the address were carried by a small majority.

SECESSION OF THE CHIEF MEMBERS IN THE OPPOSITION.

Then Sir William Wyndham, standing up, made a pathetic remonstrance upon this determination. "This address (said he) is intended to convince mankind, that the treaty under our consideration is a reasonable and an honourable treaty. But if a majority of twenty-eight in such a full House should fail of that success; if the people should not implicitly resign their reason to a vote of this House, what will be the consequence? Will not the Parliament lose its authority? Will it not be thought, that even in the Parliament we are governed by a faction? and what the consequence of this may be, I leave to those gentlemen to consider, who are now to

give their vote for this address: for my own part, I will trouble you no more, but with these my last words, I sincerely pray to Almighty God, who has so often wonderfully protected these kingdoms, that he will graciously continue his protection over them, by preserving us from that impending danger which threatens the nation from without, and likewise from that impending danger which threatens our constitution from within." The minister was on this occasion deserted by his usual temper, and even provoked into personal abuse. He declared, that the gentleman who was now the mouth of his opponents had been looked upon as the head of those traitors, who twenty-five years before conspired the destruction of their country and of the royal family, in order to set a popish pretender upon the throne; that he was seized by the vigilance of the then government, and pardoned by its clemency; but all the use he had ungratefully made of that clemency was to qualify himself according to law, that he and his party might some time or other have an opportunity to overthrow all law. He branded them all as traitors, and expressed his hope that their behaviour would unite all the true friends of the present happy establishment. To such a degree of mutual animosity were both sides inflamed, that the most eminent members in the minority actually retired from Parliament; and were by the nation in general revered as martyrs to the liberty of the people.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS DEBATE UPON AN ADDRESS TO HIS MAJESTY TOUCHING THE CONVENTION.

The dispute occasioned by the convention in the House of Lords was maintained with equal warmth, and perhaps with more abilities. After this famous treaty had been considered, Lord Carteret suggested, that possibly one of the contracting powers had pre-

sented a protest or declaration, importing that she acceded to such or such a measure, only upon condition that the terms of that protest or declaration should be made good. He said, that until his mind should be free from the most distant suspicion that such a paper might exist in the present case, he could not form a just opinion of the transaction himself, nor communicate to their lordships any light which might be necessary for that purpose. The adherents to the ministry endeavoured to evade his curiosity in this particular by general assertions; but he insisted on his suspicion with such perseverance, that at length the ministry produced the copy of a declaration made by the King of Spain before he ratified the convention, signifying that his catholic majesty reserved to himself, in its full force, the right of being able to suspend the assiento of negroes, in case the company should not pay within a short time the sum of sixty-eight thousand pounds sterling, owing to Spain on the duty of negroes, or on the profit of the ship Caroline; that under the validity and force of this protest, the signing of the said convention might be proceeded on, and in no other manner. In the debate that ensued, Lord Carteret displayed a surprising extent of political knowledge, recommended by all the graces of elocution, chaste, pure, dignified, and delicate. Lord Bathurst argued against the articles of convention with his usual spirit, integrity, and good sense, particularly animated by an honest indignation which the wrongs of his country had inspired. The Earl of Chesterfield attacked this inglorious measure with all the weight of argument, and all the poignancy of satire. The Duke of Argyle, no longer a partisan of the ministry, inveighed against it as infamous, treacherous, and destructive, with all the fire, impetuosity, and enthusiasm of declamation. It was defended with unequal arms by the Duke of Newcastle,

the Earl of Cholmondeley, Lord Hervey, the lord chancellor, the Bishop of Salisbury, and in particular by the Earl of Ilay, a nobleman of extensive capacity and uncommon erudition; remarkable for his knowledge of the civil law, and seemingly formed by nature for a politician; cool, discerning, plausible, artful, and enterprising, stanch to the minister, and invariably true to his own interest. The dispute was learned, long, and obstinate; but ended as usual in the discomfiture of those who had stigmatized the treaty. The House agreed to an address, in which they thanked his majesty for his gracious condescension in laying before them the convention. They acknowledged his great prudence in bringing the demands of his subjects for their past losses, which had been so long depending, to a final adjustment; in procuring an express stipulation for a speedy payment; and in laying a foundation for accomplishing the great and desirable ends of obtaining future security, and preserving the peace between the two nations. They declared their confidence in his royal wisdom, that in the treaty to be concluded, in pursuance of the convention, proper provisions would be made for the redress of the grievances of which the nation had so justly complained: they assured his majesty, that in case his just expectations should not be answered, the House would heartily and zealously concur in all such measures as should be necessary to vindicate his majesty's honour, and to preserve to his subjects the full enjoyment of all those rights to which they were entitled by treaty and the law of nations. This was a hard-won victory. At the head of those who voted against the address we find the Prince of Wales. His example was followed by six dukes, two-and-twenty earls, four viscounts, eighteen barons, four bishops; and their party was reinforced by sixteen proxies. A spirited protest was entered and subscribed

by nine-and-thirty peers, comprehending all the noblemen of the kingdom who were most eminent for their talents, integrity, and virtue.

A message having been delivered to the House from his majesty, importing, that he had settled nine-and-thirty thousand pounds per annum on the younger children of the royal family; and desiring their lordships would bring in a bill to enable his majesty to make that provision good out of the hereditary revenues of the crown, some lords in the opposition observed, that the next heir to the crown might look upon this settlement as a mortgage of his revenue, which a Parliament had no power to make: that formerly no daughter of the royal family was ever provided for by Parliament, except the eldest, and that never was by way of annuity, but an express provision of a determinate sum of money paid by way of dowry. These objections were overruled; and the House complied with his majesty's request. Then the Duke of Newcastle produced a subsidy-treaty, by which his majesty obliged himself to pay to the King of Denmark seventy thousand pounds per annum, on condition of the Dane's furnishing to his Britannic majesty a body of six thousand men when demanded. At the same time, his grace delivered a message from the king, desiring the House would enable him to fulfil this engagement; and also to raise what money and troops the exigency of affairs, during the approaching recess, might require. Another vehement dispute arose from this proposal. With respect to the treaty, Lord Carteret observed, that no use could be made of the Danish troops in any expedition undertaken against Spain, because it was stipulated in the treaty, that they should not be used either in Italy, or on board of the fleet, or be transported in whole or in part beyond sea, after they should have marched out of the territories of Denmark, except for the defence of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland: nay, should

France join against the English, the Danes could not act against that power or Spain, except as part of an army formed in Germany or Flanders. This body of Danes may be said, therefore, to have been retained for the defence and protection of Hanover; or, if the interest of Britain was at all consulted in the treaty, it must have been in preventing the Danes from joining their fleets to those of France and Spain. Then he argued against the second part of the message with great vivacity. He said nothing could be more dangerous to the constitution than a general and unlimited vote of credit. Such a demand our ancestors would have heard with amazement, and rejected with scorn. He affirmed that the practice was but of modern date in England; that it was never heard of before the Revolution; and never became frequent until the nation was blessed with the present wise administration. He said, if ever a general vote of credit and confidence should become a customary compliment from the Parliament to the crown at the end of every session, or as often as the minister might think fit to desire it, Parliaments would grow despicable in the eyes of the people: then a proclamation might be easily substituted in its stead, and happy would it be for the nation if that should be sufficient; for when a Parliament ceases to be a check upon ministers, it becomes an useless and unnecessary burden on the people. The representatives must always be paid some way or other: if their wages are not paid openly and surely by their respective constituents, as they were formerly, a majority of them may in future times be always ready to accept of wages from the administration, and these must come out of the pockets of the people. The Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Chesterfield enlarged upon the same topics. Nevertheless, the House complied with the message; and presented an address, in which they not only approved of the treaty with Denmark, but likewise assured his

majesty they would concur with his measures, and support him in fulfilling his engagements, as well as in making such further augmentation of his forces by sea and land, as he should think necessary for the honour, interest, and safety of these kingdoms.

PARLIAMENT PROROGUED.

The same message being communicated to the Commons, they voted seventy thousand five hundred and eighty-three pounds for the subsidy to Denmark, and five hundred thousand pounds for augmenting the forces on any emergency. As Great Britain stood engaged by the convention to pay to the crown of Spain the sum of sixty thousand pounds in consideration of the ships taken and destroyed by Sir George Byng, which sum was to be applied to the relief of the British merchants who had suffered by the Spanish depredations, the Commons inserted in a bill a clause providing for this sum to be paid by the Parliament. When the bill was read in the House of Lords, a motion was made by Lord Bathurst for an address, to know whether Spain had paid the money stipulated by the convention, as the time limited for the payment of it was now expired. The Duke of Newcastle, by his majesty's permission, acquainted the House that it was not paid, and that Spain had as yet given no reason for the non-payment. Then a day was appointed to consider the state of the nation, when Lord Carteret moved for a resolution, that the failure of Spain in this particular was a breach of the convention, a high indignity to his majesty, and an injustice to the nation; but, after a warm debate, this motion was overruled by the majority. The minister, in order to atone in some measure for the unpopular step he had taken in the convention, allowed a salutary law to pass for the encouragement of the woollen manufacture, and two bills in behalf of the sugar colonies:

one permitting them for a limited time to export their produce directly to foreign parts, under proper restrictions; and the other making more effectual provisions for securing the duties laid upon the importation of foreign sugars, rum, and molasses into Great Britain, and his majesty's plantations in America. The supplies being voted, the funds established, and the crown gratified in every particular, the king closed the session with a speech on the fourteenth day of June, when the chancellor in his majesty's name prorogued the Parliament[b].

THE KING OF SPAIN PUBLISHES A MANIFESTO.

Letters of marque and reprisal were granted against the Spaniards; a promotion was made of general officers; the troops were augmented; a great fleet was assembled at Spithead; a reinforcement sent out to Admiral Haddock; and an embargo laid on all merchant-ships outward bound. Notwithstanding these preparations of war, Mr. Keene, the British minister at Madrid, declared to the court of Spain, that his master, although he had permitted his subjects to make reprisals, would not be understood to have broken the peace; and that this permission would be recalled as soon as his catholic majesty should be disposed to make the satisfaction which had been so justly demanded. He was given to understand, that the King of Spain looked upon those reprisals as acts of hostility; and that he hoped, with the assistance of heaven and his allies, he should be able to support a good cause against his adversaries. He published a manifesto in justification of his own conduct, complaining that Admiral Haddock had received orders to cruise with his squadron between the capes St. Vincent and St. Mary, in order to surprise the Assogue ships; that letters of reprisal had been published at

[b] See note [E], vol. vi.

London in an indecent style, and even carried into execution in different parts of the world. He excused his non-payment of the ninety-five thousand pounds stipulated in the convention, by affirming that the British court had first contravened the articles of that treaty, by the orders sent to Haddock; by continuing to fortify Georgia; by reinforcing the squadron at Jamaica; and by eluding the payment of the sixty-eight thousand pounds due to Spain from the South-Sea company, on the assiento for negroes. The French ambassador at the Hague declared that the king his master was obliged by treaties to assist his catholic majesty by sea and land, in case he should be attacked; he dissuaded the States-General from espousing the quarrel of Great Britain; and they assured him they would observe a strict neutrality, though they could not avoid furnishing his Britannic majesty with such succours as he could demand, by virtue of the treaties subsisting between the two powers. The people of England were inspired with uncommon alacrity at the near prospect of war, for which they had so long clamoured; and the ministry, seeing it unavoidable, began to be earnest and effectual in their preparations.

THE EMPEROR AND CZARINA CONCLUDE A PEACE WITH THE TURKS.

The events of war were still unfavourable to the emperor. He had bestowed the command of his army upon Veldt-Mareschal Count Wallis, who assembled his forces in the neighbourhood of Belgrade; and advanced towards Crotska, where he was attacked by the Turks with such impetuosity and perseverance, that he was obliged to give ground, after a long and obstinate engagement, in which he lost above six thousand men. The Earl of Crawford, who served as a volunteer in the imperial army, signalized his courage in an extra-

ordinary manner on this occasion, and received a dangerous wound, of which he never perfectly recovered. The Turks were afterwards worsted at Jabouka; nevertheless, their grand army invested Belgrade on the side of Servia, and carried on the operations of the siege with extraordinary vigour. The emperor, dreading the loss of this place, seeing his finances exhausted, and his army considerably diminished, consented to a negotiation for peace, which was transacted under the mediation of the French ambassador at the Ottoman Porte. The Count de Neuperg, as imperial plenipotentiary, signed the preliminaries on the first day of September. They were ratified by the emperor, though he pretended to be dissatisfied with the articles; and declared that his minister had exceeded his powers. By this treaty the house of Austria ceded to the grand signor, Belgrade, Sabatz, Servia, Austrian Wallachia, the isle and fortress of Orsova, with the fort of St. Elizabeth; and the contracting powers agreed that the Danube and the Saave should serve as boundaries to the two empires. The emperor published a circular letter, addressed to his ministers at all the courts in Europe, blaming Count Wallis for the bad success of the last campaign, and disowning the negotiations of Count Neuperg; nay, these two officers were actually disgraced, and confined in different castles. This, however, was no other than a sacrifice to the resentment of the czarina, who loudly complained that the emperor had concluded a separate peace, contrary to his engagements with the Russian empire. Her general, Count Munich, had obtained a victory over the Turks at Choczim, in Moldavia, and made himself master of that place, in which he found two hundred pieces of artillery; but the country was so ruined by the incursions of the Tartars, that the Muscovites could not subsist in it during the winter. The czarina, finding herself abandoned by the emperor, and unable to cope with the whole power of the Ottoman

empire, took the first opportunity of putting an end to the war upon honourable terms. After a short negotiation, the conferences ended in a treaty, by which she was left in possession of Asoph, on condition that its fortifications should be demolished; and the ancient limits were re-established between the two empires.

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR IN ENGLAND.

A rupture between Great Britain and Spain was now become inevitable. The English squadron in the Mediterranean had already made prize of two rich Caracca ships. The king had issued orders for augmenting his land-forces and raising a body of marines; and a great number of ships of war were put in commission. Admiral Vernon had been sent to the West Indies, to assume the command of the squadron in those seas, and to annoy the trade and settlements of the Spaniards. This gentleman had rendered himself considerable in the House of Commons, by loudly condemning all the measures of the ministry, and bluntly speaking his sentiments, whatever they were, without respect of persons, and sometimes without any regard to decorum. He was counted a good officer, and this boisterous manner seemed to enhance his character. As he had once commanded a squadron in Jamaica, he was perfectly well acquainted with those seas; and in a debate upon the Spanish depredations, he chanced to affirm, that Porto Bello, on the Spanish main, might be easily taken; nay, he even undertook to reduce it with six ships only. This offer was echoed from the mouths of all the members in the opposition. Vernon was extolled as another Drake or Raleigh: he became the idol of a party, and his praise resounded from all corners of the kingdom. The minister, in order to appease the clamours of the people on this subject, sent him as commander-in-chief to the West Indies. He was pleased with an opportunity

to remove such a troublesome censor from the House of Commons; and, perhaps, he was not without hope, that Vernon would disgrace himself and his party, by failing in the exploit he had undertaken. His catholic majesty having ordered all the British ships in his harbours to be seized and detained, the King of England would keep measures with him no longer, but denounced war against him on the twenty-third day of October. Many English merchants began to equip privateers, and arm their trading vessels, to protect their own commerce, as well as to distress that of the enemy. The session of Parliament was opened in November, when the king, in his speech to both Houses, declared that he had augmented his forces by sea and land, pursuant to the power vested in him by Parliament for the security of his dominions, the protection of trade, and the annoyance of the enemy; and he expressed his apprehension, that the heats and animosities which had been industriously fomented throughout the kingdom encouraged Spain to act in such a manner as rendered it necessary for him to have recourse to arms. In answer to this speech, affectionate addresses were presented by both Houses, without any considerable opposition.

The seceding members had again resumed their seats in the House of Commons; and Mr. Pulteney thought proper to vindicate the extraordinary step which they had taken. He said, they thought that step was necessary, as affairs then stood, for clearing their characters to posterity from the imputation of sitting in an assembly, where a determined majority gave a sanction to measures evidently to the disgrace of his majesty and the nation. He observed, that their conduct was so fully justified by the declaration of war against Spain, that any further vindication would be superfluous; for every assertion contained in it had been almost in the same words insisted upon by those who opposed the convention: "Every sentence in it (added he) is an echo of

what was said in our reasonings against that treaty: every positive truth which the declaration lays down was denied with the utmost confidence by those who spoke for the convention; and since that time there has not one event happened which was not then foreseen and foretold." He proposed, that in maintaining the war, the Spanish settlements in the West Indies should be attacked; and that the ministry should not have the power to give up the conquests that might be made. He said he heartily wished, for his majesty's honour and service, that no mention had been made of heats and animosities in the king's speech; and gave it as his opinion, that they should take no notice of that clause in their address. He was answered by Sir Robert Walpole, who took occasion to say, he was in no great concern lest the service of his majesty or the nation should suffer by the absence of those members who had quitted the House: he affirmed, the nation was generally sensible, that the many useful and popular acts which passed towards the end of the last session were greatly forwarded and facilitated by the secession of those gentlemen; and, if they were returned only to oppose and perplex, he should not be at all sorry to see them secede again.

PENSION-BILL REVIVED AND LOST.

Mr. Pulteney revived the bill which he had formerly prepared for the encouragement of seamen. After a long dispute, and eager opposition by the ministry, it passed both Houses, and obtained the royal assent. Mr. Sandys, having observed that there could be no immediate use for a great number of forces in the kingdom, and explained how little service could be expected from raw and undisciplined men, proposed an address to the king, desiring that the body of marines should be composed of drafts from the old regiments;

that as few officers should be appointed as the nature of the case would permit; and he expressed his hope, that the House would recommend this method to his majesty, in tender compassion to his people, already burdened with many heavy and grievous taxes. This scheme was repugnant to the intention of the ministry, whose aim was to increase the number of their dependants, and extend their parliamentary interest, by granting a great number of commissions. The proposal was, therefore, after a long debate, rejected by the majority. Motions were made for an inquiry into the conduct of those who concluded the convention, but they were overruled. The pension bill was revived, and so powerfully supported by the eloquence of Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Pulteney, and Mr. Lyttelton, that it made its way through the Commons to the Upper House, where it was again lost, upon a division, after a very long debate. As the seamen of the kingdom expressed uncommon aversion to the service of the government, and the fleet could not be manned without great difficulty, the ministry prepared a bill, which was brought in by Sir Charles Wager, for registering all seamen, watermen, fishermen, and lightermen, throughout his majesty's dominions. Had this bill passed into a law, a British sailor would have been reduced to the most abject degree of slavery: had he removed from a certain district allotted for the place of his residence, he would have been deemed a deserter, and punished accordingly; he must have appeared, when summoned, at all hazards, whatever might have been the circumstances of his family, or the state of his private affairs: had he been encumbered with debt, he must either have incurred the penalties of this law, or lain at the mercy of his creditors: had he acquired by industry, or received by inheritance, an ample fortune, he would have been liable to be torn from his possessions, and subjected to hardships which no man would endure but from the

sense of fear or indigence. The bill was so vigorously opposed by Sir John Barnard and others, as a flagrant encroachment on the liberties of the people, that the House rejected it on the second reading.

PORTO-BELLO TAKEN BY ADMIRAL VERNON.

The king having by message communicated to the House his intention of disposing the Princess Mary in marriage to Prince Frederick of Hesse; and expressing his hope, that the Commons would enable him to give a suitable portion to his daughter, they unanimously resolved to grant forty thousand pounds for that purpose; and presented an address of thanks to his majesty, for having communicated to the House this intended marriage. On the thirteenth day of March a ship arrived from the West Indies, despatched by Admiral Vernon, with an account of his having taken Porto Bello, on the isthmus of Darien, with six ships only, and demolished all the fortifications of the place. The Spaniards acted with such pusillanimity on this occasion, that their forts were taken almost without bloodshed. The two Houses of Parliament joined in an address of congratulation upon this success of his majesty's arms; and the nation in general was wonderfully elated by an exploit which was magnified much above its merit. The Commons granted every thing the crown thought proper to demand. They provided for eight-and-twenty thousand land-forces, besides six thousand marines. They enabled his majesty to equip a very powerful navy; they voted the subsidy to the King of Denmark; and they empowered their sovereign to defray certain extraordinary expenses not specified in the estimates. To answer these uncommon grants, they imposed a land-tax of four shillings in the pound; and enabled his majesty to deduct twelve hundred thousand pounds from the sinking-fund; in a word, the expense of the war, during

the course of the ensuing year, amounted to about four millions. The session was closed on the twenty-ninth day of April, when the king thanked the Commons for the supplies they had so liberally granted, and recommended union and moderation to both Houses.

During the greatest part of this winter, the poor had been grievously afflicted in consequence of a severe frost, which began at Christmas, and continued till the latter end of February. The river Thames was covered with such a crust of ice that a multitude of people dwelled upon it in tents, and a great number of booths were erected for the entertainment of the populace. The navigation was entirely stopped: the watermen and fishermen were disabled from earning a livelihood: the fruits of the earth were destroyed by the cold, which was so extreme that many persons were chilled to death; and this calamity was the more deeply felt, as the poor could not afford to supply themselves with coals and fuel, which were advanced in price, in proportion to the severity and continuance of the frost. The lower class of labourers, who worked in the open air, were now deprived of all means of subsistence: many kinds of manufacture were laid aside, because it was found impracticable to carry them on. The price of all sorts of provisions rose almost to a dearth; even water was sold in the streets of London. In this season of distress, many wretched families must have perished by cold and hunger, had not those of opulent fortunes been inspired with a remarkable spirit of compassion and humanity. Nothing can more redound to the honour of the English nation than did those instances of benevolence and well-conducted charity which were then exhibited. The liberal hand was not only opened to the professed beggar, and the poor that owned their distress; but uncommon pains were taken to find out and relieve those more unhappy objects, who, from motives of false pride or ingenuous shame, endeavoured to conceal

their misery. These were assisted almost in their own despite. The solitary habitations of the widow, the fatherless, and the unfortunate, were visited by the beneficent, who felt for the woes of their fellow-creatures; and, to such as refused to receive a portion of the public charity, the necessaries of life were privately conveyed, in such a manner as could least shock the delicacy of their dispositions.

MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS MARY TO THE PRINCE OF HESSE.

In the beginning of May the King of Great Britain set out for Hanover, after having appointed a regency, and concerted vigorous measures for distressing the enemy. In a few days after his departure, the espousals of the Princess Mary were celebrated by proxy, the Duke of Cumberland representing the Prince of Hesse; and in June the princess embarked for the Continent. About the same time, a sloop arrived in England with despatches from Admiral Vernon, who, since his adventure at Porto Bello, had bombarded Carthagena, and taken the fort of San Lorenzo, on the river of Chagre, in the neighbourhood of his former conquest. This month was likewise marked by the death of his Prussian majesty, a prince by no means remarkable for great or amiable qualities. He was succeeded on the throne by Frederick his eldest son, the late king of that realm, who has so eminently distinguished himself as a warrior and legislator. In August, the King of Great Britain concluded a treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse, who engaged to furnish him with a body of six thousand men for four years, in consideration of an annual subsidy of two hundred and fifty thousand crowns.

STRONG ARMAMENT SENT TO THE WEST INDIES.

Meanwhile, preparations of war were vigorously carried on by the ministry in England. They had wisely resolved to annoy the Spaniards in their American possessions. Three ships of war, cruising in the bay of Biscay, fell in with a large Spanish ship of the line strongly manned, and took her after a very obstinate engagement; but the assogue ships arrived, with the treasure, in Spain, notwithstanding the vigilance of the English commanders, who were stationed in a certain latitude to intercept that flota. One camp was formed on Hounslow-heath; and six thousand marines lately levied were encamped on the Isle of Wight, in order to be embarked for the West Indies. Intelligence being received, that a strong squadron of Spanish ships of war waited at Ferrol for orders to sail to their American settlements, Sir John Norris sailed with a powerful fleet from Spithead, to dispute their voyage; and the Duke of Cumberland served in person as a volunteer in this expedition; but after divers fruitless efforts, he was, by contrary winds, obliged to lie inactive for the greatest part of the summer in Torbay; and, upon advice that the French and Spanish squadrons had sailed to the West Indies in conjunction, the design against Ferrol was wholly laid aside. In September, a small squadron of ships, commanded by Commodore Anson, set sail for the South-Sea, in order to act against the enemy on the coast of Chili and Peru, and co-operate occasionally with Admiral Vernon across the isthmus of Darien. The scheme was well laid, but ruined by unnecessary delays and unforeseen accidents. But the hopes of the nation centred chiefly in a formidable armament designed for the northern coast of New Spain, and his catholic majesty's other settlements on that side of the

Atlantic. Commissions had been issued for raising a regiment of four battalions in the English colonies of North America, that they might be transported to Jamaica, and join the forces from England. These, consisting of the marines, and detachments from some old regiments, were embarked in October at the Isle of Wight, under the command of Lord Cathcart, a nobleman of approved honour, and great experience in the art of war; and they sailed under convoy of Sir Chaloner Ogle, with a fleet of seven-and-twenty ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, and tenders. They were likewise furnished with hospital-ships, and store-ships, laden with provision, ammunition, all sorts of warlike implements, and every kind of convenience. Never was an armament more completely equipped; and never had the nation more reason to hope for extraordinary success.

DEATH OF THE EMPEROR AND CZARINA.

On the twentieth day of October, Charles VI. Emperor of Germany, the last prince of the house of Austria, died at Vienna, and was succeeded in his hereditary dominions by his eldest daughter, the Archduchess Maria Theresa, married to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Though this princess succeeded as Queen of Hungary, by virtue of the pragmatic sanction guaranteed by all the powers in Europe, her succession produced such contests as kindled a cruel war in the empire. The young King of Prussia was no sooner informed of the emperor's death, than he entered Silesia at the head of twenty thousand men; seized certain fiefs to which his family laid claim; and published a manifesto, declaring that he had no intention to contravene the pragmatic sanction. The Elector of Bavaria refused to acknowledge the archduchess as Queen of Hungary and Bohemia; alleging, that he himself had pretensions to those

countries, as the descendant of the Emperor Ferdinand I., who was head of the German branch of the house of Austria. Charles VI. was survived but a few days by his ally, the Czarina Anne Iwanowna, who died in the forty-fifth year of her age, after having bequeathed her crown to Iwan, or John, the infant son of her niece, the Princess Anne of Mecklenburgh, who had been married to Anthony Ulrick, Duke of Brunswick Lunenbourg-Bevern. She appointed the Duke of Courland regent of the empire, and even guardian of the young czar, though his own parents were alive; but this disposition was not long maintained.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

The King of Great Britain having returned to England from his German dominions, the session of Parliament was opened in November. His majesty assured them, on this occasion, that he was determined to prosecute the war vigorously, even though France should espouse the cause of Spain, as her late conduct seemed to favour this supposition. He took notice of the emperor's death, as an event which in all likelihood would open a new scene of affairs in Europe; he therefore recommended to their consideration the necessary supplies for putting the nation in such a posture, that it should have nothing to fear from any emergency. Finally, he desired them to consider of some proper regulations for preventing the exportation of corn, and for more effectual methods to man the fleet at this conjuncture. The Commons, after having voted an address of thanks, brought in a bill for prohibiting the exportation of corn and provisions, for a limited time, out of Great Britain, Ireland, and the American plantations. This was a measure calculated to distress the enemy, who were supposed to be in want of these necessaries. The French had contracted for a very large

quantity of beef and pork in Ireland for the use of their own and the Spanish navy; and an embargo had been laid upon the ships of that kingdom. The bill met with a vigorous opposition; yet the House unanimously resolved, that his majesty should be addressed to lay an immediate embargo upon all ships laden with corn, grain, starch, rice, beef, pork, and other provisions, to be exported to foreign parts. They likewise resolved, that the thanks of the House should be given to Vice-Admiral Vernon, for the services he had done to his king and country in the West Indies. One William Cooley was examined at the bar of the House, and committed to prison, after having owned himself author of a paper, entitled "Considerations upon the Embargo on Provision of Victual." The performance contained many shrewd and severe animadversions upon the government, for having taken a step which, without answering the purpose of distressing the enemy, would prove a grievous discouragement to trade, and ruin all the graziers of Ireland. Notwithstanding the arguments used in this remonstrance, and several petitions that were presented against the corn-bill, it passed by mere dint of ministerial influence. The other party endeavoured, by various motions, to set on foot an inquiry into the orders, letters, and instructions, which had been sent to Admiral Vernon and Admiral Haddock; but all such investigations were carefully avoided.

A very hot contest arose from a bill which the ministry brought in under the specious title of "A bill for the encouragement and increase of seamen, and for the better and speedier manning his majesty's fleet." This was a revival of the oppressive scheme which had been rejected in the former session; a scheme by which the justices of the peace were empowered to issue warrants to constables and headboroughs, to search by day or night for such seafaring men as should conceal themselves within their respective jurisdictions. These

searchers were vested with authority to force open doors in case of resistance; and encouraged to this violence by a reward for every seaman they should discover; while the unhappy wretches so discovered were dragged into the service, and their names entered in a register to be kept at the navy or the admiralty office. Such a plan of tyranny did not pass uncensured. Every exceptionable clause produced a warm debate, in which Sir John Barnard, Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Sandys, Lord Gage, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Lyttelton, signalized themselves nobly in defending the liberties of their fellow-subjects. Mr. Pitt having expressed a laudable indignation at such a large stride towards despotic power, in justification of which nothing could be urged but the plea of necessity, Mr. H. Walpole thought proper to attack him with some personal sarcasms. He reflected upon his youth; and observed that the discovery of truth was very little promoted by pompous diction and theatrical emotion. These insinuations exposed him to a severe reply. Mr. Pitt, standing up again, said, "He would not undertake to determine whether youth could be justly imputed to any man as a reproach; but he affirmed, that the wretch, who, after having seen the consequences of repeated errors, continues still to blunder, and whose age has only added obstinacy to stupidity, is surely the object of either abhorrence or contempt, and deserves not that his gray head should secure him from insults; much more is he to be abhorred, who, as he has advanced in age, has receded from virtue, and becomes more wicked with less temptation; who prostitutes himself for money which he cannot enjoy; and spends the remains of his life in the ruin of his country." Petitions were presented from the city of London, and county of Gloucester, against the bill, as detrimental to the trade and navigation of the kingdom, by discouraging rather than encouraging sailors, and destructive to the liberties of the subject; but they were both

rejected as insults upon the House of Commons. After very long debates, maintained on both sides with extraordinary ardour and emotion, the severe clauses were dropped, and the bill passed with amendments.

DISCONTENTS AGAINST THE MINISTRY.

But the most remarkable incident of this session was an open and personal attack upon the minister, who was become extremely unpopular all over the kingdom. The people were now more than ever sensible of the grievous taxes under which they groaned; and saw their burdens daily increasing. No effectual attempt had as yet been made to annoy the enemy. Expensive squadrons had been equipped, had made excursions, and returned without striking a blow. The Spanish fleet had sailed first from Cadiz, and then from Ferrol, without any interruption from Admiral Haddock, who commanded the British squadron in the Mediterranean, and who was supposed to be restricted by the instructions he had received from the ministry, though in fact his want of success was owing to accident. Admiral Vernon had written from the West Indies to his private friends, that he was neglected, and in danger of being sacrificed. Notwithstanding the numerous navy which the nation maintained, the Spanish privateers made prize of the British merchant-ships with impunity. In violation of treaties, and in contempt of that intimate connexion which had been so long cultivated between the French and English ministry, the King of France had ordered the harbour and fortifications of Dunkirk to be repaired: his fleet had sailed to the West Indies, in conjunction with that of Spain; and the merchants of England began to tremble for Jamaica: finally, commerce was in a manner suspended, by the practice of pressing sailors into the service, and by the embargo which had been laid upon ships, in all the ports

of Great Britain and Ireland. These causes of popular discontent, added to other complaints which had been so long repeated against the minister, exaggerated and inculcated by his enemies with unwearied industry, at length rendered him so universally odious, that his name was seldom or never mentioned with decency, except by his own dependents.

MOTION FOR REMOVING SIR ROBERT WALPOLE FROM HIS MAJESTY'S COUNCILS.

The country party in Parliament seized this opportunity of vengeance. Mr. Sandys went up to Sir Robert Walpole in the House, and told him, that on Friday next he should bring a charge against him in public. The minister seemed to be surprised at this unexpected intimation; but, after a short pause, thanked him politely for this previous notice, and said he desired no favour, but fair play[c]. Mr. Sandys, at the time which he had appointed for this accusation, stood up, and in a studied speech entered into a long deduction of the minister's misconduct. He insisted upon the discontents of the nation, in consequence of the measures which had been for many years pursued at home and abroad. He professed his belief that there was not a gentleman in the House who did not know that one single person in the administration was the chief, if not the sole adviser and promoter of all those measures. "This (added he) is known without doors, as well as within; therefore, the discontents, the reproaches, and even the curses of the people, are all directed against that single person. They complain of present measures; they have suffered by past measures; they expect no

[c] Upon this occasion he misquoted Horace. "As I am not conscious of any crime (said he), I do not doubt of being able to make a proper defence. *Nil conscire sibi, nulli pallescere culpæ.*" He was corrected by Mr. Pulteney; but insisted upon his being in the right, and actually laid a wager on the justness of his quotation.

redress; they expect no alteration or amendment, whilst he has a share in directing or advising our future administration. These, sir, are the sentiments of the people in regard to that minister: these sentiments we are in honour and duty bound to represent to his majesty; and the proper method for doing this, as established by our constitution, is to address his majesty to remove him from his councils." He then proceeded to explain the particulars of the minister's misconduct in the whole series of his negotiations abroad. He charged him with having endeavoured to support his own interest, and to erect a kind of despotic government, by the practice of corruption; with having betrayed the interest and honour of Great Britain in the late convention; with having neglected to prosecute the war against Spain; and he concluded with a motion for an address to the king, that he would be pleased to remove Sir Robert Walpole from his presence and councils for ever. He was answered by Mr. Pelham, who undertook to defend or excuse all the measures which the other had condemned; and acquitted himself as a warm friend and unshaken adherent. Against this champion Sir John Barnard entered the lists, and was sustained by Mr. Pulteney, who, with equal spirit and precision, pointed out and exposed all the material errors and malpractices of the administration. Sir Robert Walpole spoke with great temper and deliberation in behalf of himself. With respect to the article of bribery and corruption, he said, if any one instance had been mentioned; if it had been shown that he ever offered a reward to any member of either House, or ever threatened to deprive any member of his office or employment, in order to influence his voting in Parliament, there might have been some ground for this charge; but when it was so generally laid, he did not know what he could say to it, unless to deny it as generally and as positively as it had been asserted.—Such a declaration as this, in

the hearing of so many persons, who not only knew, but subsisted by his wages of corruption, was a strong proof of the minister's being dead to all sense of shame, and all regard to veracity. The debate was protracted by the court members till three o'clock in the morning, when, about sixty of the opposite party having retired, the motion was rejected by a considerable majority.

DEBATE ON THE MUTINY BILL.

A bill was brought in for prohibiting the practice of ensuring ships belonging to the enemies of the nation; but it was vigorously opposed by Sir John Barnard and Mr. Willimot, who demonstrated that this kind of traffic was advantageous to the kingdom; and the scheme was dropped. Another warm contest arose upon a clause of the mutiny bill, relating to the quartering of soldiers upon innkeepers and publicans, who complained of their being distressed in furnishing those guests with provisions and necessaries at the rates prescribed by law or custom. There were not wanting advocates to expatiate upon the nature of this grievance, which, however, was not redressed. A new trade was at this time opened with Persia, through the dominions of the czar, and vested with an exclusive privilege in the Russian company, by an act of Parliament. The Commons voted forty thousand seamen for the service of the ensuing year, and about thirty thousand men for the establishment of land-forces. They provided for the subsidies granted to the King of Denmark and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; and took every step which was suggested for the ease and the convenience of the government.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

The parties in the House of Lords were influenced by the same motives which actuated the Commons.

The Duke of Argyle, who had by this time resigned all his places, declared open war against the ministry. In the beginning of the session, the king's speech was no sooner reported by the chancellor, than this nobleman stood up, and moved that a general address of thanks should be presented to his majesty, instead of a recapitulation of every paragraph of the king's speech, re-echoed from the Parliament to the throne, with expressions of blind approbation, implying a general concurrence with all the measures of the minister. He spoke on this subject with an astonishing impetuosity of eloquence, that rolled like a river which had overflowed its banks and deluged the whole adjacent country. The motion was supported by Lord Bathurst, Lord Carteret, the Earl of Chesterfield, and Lord Gower, who, though they displayed all the talents of oratory, were outvoted by the opposite party, headed by the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Cholmondeley, Lord Hervey, and the lord chancellor. The motion was rejected, and the address composed in the usual strain. The same motions for an inquiry into orders and instructions, which had miscarried in the Lower House, were here repeated with the same bad success: in the debates which ensued, the young Earls of Halifax and Sandwich acquired a considerable share of reputation, for the strength of argument and elocution with which they contended against the adherents of the ministry. When the House took into consideration the state of the army, the Duke of Argyle having harangued with equal skill and energy on military affairs, proposed that the forces should be augmented by adding new levies to the old companies, without increasing the number of officers; as such an augmentation served only to debase the dignity of the service, by raising the lowest of mankind to the rank of gentlemen; and to extend the influence of the minister, by multiplying his dependents. He therefore moved for a resolution,

that the augmenting the army by raising regiments, as it is the most unnecessary and most expensive method of augmentation, was also the most dangerous to the liberties of the nation. This proposal was likewise overruled, after a short though warm contention. This was the fate of all the other motions made by the lords in the opposition, though the victory of the courtiers was always clogged with a nervous and spirited protest. Two days were expended in the debate produced by Lord Carteret's motion for an address, beseeching his majesty to remove Sir Robert Walpole from his presence and councils for ever. The speech that ushered in this memorable motion would not have disgraced a Cicero. It contained a retrospect of all the public measures which had been pursued since the Revolution. It explained the nature of every treaty, whether right or wrong, which had been concluded under the present administration. It described the political connexions subsisting between the different powers in Europe. It exposed the weakness, the misconduct, and the iniquity of the minister, both in his foreign and domestic transactions. It was embellished with all the ornaments of rhetoric, and warmed with a noble spirit of patriotic indignation. The Duke of Argyle, Lord Bathurst, and his other colleagues, seemed to be animated with uncommon fervour, and even inspired, by the subject. A man of imagination, in reading their speeches, will think himself transported into the Roman senate, before the ruin of that republic. Nevertheless, the minister still triumphed by dint of numbers; though his victory was dearly purchased. Thirty peers entered a vigorous protest; and Walpole's character sustained such a rude shock from this opposition, that his authority seemed to be drawing near a period. Immediately after this contest was decided, the Duke of Marlborough moved for a resolution, that any attempt to inflict any kind of punishment on any person, without allowing him an

opportunity to make his defence, or without any proof of any crime or misdemeanour committed by him, is contrary to natural justice, the fundamental laws of the realm, and the ancient established usage of Parliament; and is a high infringement of the liberties of the subject. It was seconded by the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Lovel; and opposed by Lord Gower, as an intended censure on the proceedings of the day. This sentiment was so warmly espoused by Lord Talbot, who had distinguished himself in the former debate, that he seemed to be transported beyond the bounds of moderation. He was interrupted by the Earl of Cholmondeley, who charged him with having violated the order and decorum which ought to be preserved in such an assembly. His passion was inflamed by this rebuke: he declared himself an independent lord; a character which he would not forfeit for the smiles of a court, the profit of an employment, or the reward of a pension: he said, when he was engaged on the side of truth, he would trample on the insolence that should command him to suppress his sentiments.—On a division, however, the motion was carried.

In the beginning of April, the king, repairing to the House of Peers, passed some acts that were ready for the royal assent. Then, in his speech to both Houses, he gave them to understand, that the Queen of Hungary had made a requisition of the twelve thousand men stipulated by treaty; and that he had ordered the subsidy-troops of Denmark and Hesse-Cassel to be in readiness to march to her assistance. He observed, that in this complicated and uncertain state of affairs, many incidents might arise, and render it necessary for him to incur extraordinary expenses for maintaining the pragmatic sanction, at a time when he could not possibly have recourse to the advice and assistance of his Parliament. He therefore demanded of the Com-

mons such a supply as might be requisite for these ends; and promised to manage it with all possible frugality. The Lower House, in their address, approved of all his measures; declared they would effectually support him against all insults and attacks that might be made upon any of his territories, though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain; and that they would enable him to contribute, in the most effectual manner, to the support of the Queen of Hungary. Sir Robert Walpole moved, that an aid of two hundred thousand pounds should be granted to that princess. Mr. Shippen protested against any interposition in the affairs of Germany. He expressed his dislike of the promise which had been made to defend his majesty's foreign dominions; a promise, in his opinion, inconsistent with that important and inviolable law, the act of settlement; a promise which, could it have been foreknown, would perhaps have for ever precluded from the succession that illustrious family to which the nation owed such numberless blessings, such continued felicity. The motion however passed, though not without further opposition; and the House resolved, that three hundred thousand pounds should be granted to his majesty, to enable him effectually to support the Queen of Hungary. Towards the expense of this year, a million was deducted from the sinking-fund; and the land-tax continued at four shillings in the pound. The preparations for this war had already cost five millions. The session was closed on the twenty-fifth day of April, when the king took his leave of this Parliament, with warm expressions of tenderness and satisfaction. Henry Bromley, Stephen Fox, and John Howe, three members of the Lower House, who had signalized themselves in defence of the minister, were now ennobled, and created Barons of Montford, Ilchester, and Chedworth. A camp was formed near Colchester; and the king,

having appointed a regency, set out in May for his German dominions[d].

[d] Sir William Wyndham died the preceding year, deeply regretted as an orator, a patriot, and a man, the constant asserter of British liberty, and one of the chief ornaments of the English nation. In the course of the same year, General Oglethorpe, Governor of Georgia, had, with some succours obtained from the colony of Carolina, and a small squadron of king's ships, made an attempt upon Fort Augustine, the capital of Spanish Florida; and actually reduced some small forts in the neighbourhood of the place; but the Carolinians withdrawing in disgust, dissensions prevailing among the sea-officers, the hurricane months approaching, and the enemy having received a supply and reinforcement, he abandoned the enterprise, and returned to Georgia.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Army under Lord Cathcart and Sir Chaloner Ogle proceeds to the West Indies.—Nature of the Climate on the Spanish Main.—Admiral Vernon sails to Carthagena.—Attack of Fort Lazar.—Expedition to Cuba.—Rupture between the Queen of Hungary and the King of Prussia.—Battle of Molwitz.—The King of Great Britain concludes a Treaty of Neutrality with France for the Electorate of Hanover.—A Body of French Forces join the Elector of Bavaria.—He is crowned King of Bohemia at Prague.—Fidelity of the Hungarians.—War between Russia and Sweden.—Revolution in Russia.—The Spanish and French Squadrons pass unmolested by the English Admiral in the Mediterranean.—Inactivity of the naval Power of Great Britain.—Obstinate Struggle in electing Members in the new Parliament.—Remarkable Motion in the House of Commons by Lord Noel Somerset.—The Country Party obtain a Majority in the House of Commons.—Sir Robert Walpole created Earl of Orford.—Change in the Ministry.—Inquiry into the Administration of Sir Robert Walpole.—Obstructed by the new Ministry.—Reports of the secret Committee.—The Elector of Bavaria chosen Emperor.—The King of Prussia gains the Battle of Czaslau.—Treaty at Breslau.—The French Troops retire under the Cannon of Prague.—A fresh Body sent with the Mareschal de Maillebois to bring them off.—Extraordinary Retreat of M. de Belleisle.—The King of Great Britain forms an Army in Flanders.—Progress of the War between Russia and Sweden.—The King of Sardinia declares for the House of Austria.—Motions of the Spaniards in Italy and Savoy.—Conduct of Admiral Matthews in the Mediterranean.—Operations in the West Indies.—The Attention of the Ministry turned chiefly on the Affairs of the Continent.—Extraordinary Motion in the House of Lords by Earl Stanhope.—Warm and obstinate Debate on the Repeal of the Gin Act.—Bill for quieting Corporations.—Convention between the Emperor and the Queen of Hungary.—Difference between the King of Prussia and the Elector of Hanover.—The King of Great Britain obtains a Victory over the French at Dettingen.—Treaty of Worms.—Conclusion of the Campaign.—Affairs in the North.—Battle of Campo-Santo.—Transactions of the British Fleet in the Mediterranean.—Unsuccessful Attempts upon the Spanish Settlements in the West Indies.

THE ARMY UNDER LORD CATHCART, ETC. PROCEEDS TO THE WEST INDIES.

The British armament had by this time proceeded to action in the West Indies. Sir Chaloner Ogle, who sailed from Spithead, had been overtaken by a tempest in the bay of Biscay, by which the fleet, consisting of about one hundred and seventy sail, were scattered and dispersed. Nevertheless, he prosecuted his voyage, and anchored, with a view to provide wood and water in the neutral island of Dominica, where the intended expedition sustained a terrible shock in the death of the gallant Lord Cathcart, who was carried off by a dysentery. The loss of this nobleman was the more severely felt, as the command of the land-forces devolved upon General Wentworth, an officer without experience, authority, and resolution. As the fleet sailed along the island of Hispaniola, in its way to Jamaica, four large ships of war were discovered; and Sir Chaloner detached an equal number of his squadron to give them chase, while he himself proceeded on his voyage. As those strange ships refused to bring to, Lord Augustus Fitzroy, the commodore of the four British ships, saluted one of them with a broadside, and a smart engagement ensued. After they had fought during the best part of the night, the enemy hoisted their colours in the morning, and appeared to be part of the French squadron, which had sailed from Europe, under the command of the Marquis d'Antin, with orders to assist the Spanish Admiral de Torres, in attacking and distressing the English ships and colonies. War was not yet declared between France and England; therefore hostilities ceased: the English and French commanders complimented each other; excused themselves mutually for the mistake which had happened; and parted as friends, with a considerable loss of men on both sides.

NATURE OF THE CLIMATE ON THE SPANISH MAIN.

In the mean time Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived at Jamaica, where he joined Vice-Admiral Vernon, who now found himself at the head of the most formidable fleet and army that ever visited those seas, with full power to act at discretion. The conjoined squadrons consisted of nine-and-twenty ships of the line, with almost an equal number of frigates, fire-ships, and bomb-ketches, well manned, and plentifully supplied with all kinds of provisions, stores, and necessaries. The number of seamen amounted to fifteen thousand; that of the land-forces, including the American regiment of four battalions, and a body of negroes inlisted at Jamaica, did not fall short of twelve thousand. Had this armament been ready to act in the proper season of the year, under the conduct of wise, experienced officers, united in councils, and steadily attached to the interest and honour of their country, the Havannah and whole island of Cuba might have been easily reduced; the whole treasure of the Spanish West Indies would have been intercepted; and Spain must have been humbled into the most abject submission. But several unfavourable circumstances concurred to frustrate the hopes of the public. The ministry had detained Sir Chaloner Ogle at Spithead without any visible cause, until the season for action was almost exhausted; for, on the Continent of New Spain, the periodical rains begin about the end of April; and this change in the atmosphere is always attended with epidemical distempers, which render the climate extremely unhealthy; besides, the rain is so excessive, that for the space of two months no army can keep the field.

ADMIRAL VERNON SAILS TO CARTHAGENA.

Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived at Jamaica on the ninth day of January; and Admiral Vernon did not sail on his intended expedition till towards the end of the month. Instead of directing his course to the Havannah, which lay to leeward, and might have been reached in less than three days, he resolved to beat up against the wind to Hispaniola, in order to observe the motion of the French squadron commanded by the Marquis d'Antin. The fifteenth day of February had elapsed before he received certain information that the French admiral had sailed for Europe, in great distress, for want of men and provisions, which he could not procure in the West Indies. Admiral Vernon, thus disappointed, called a council of war, in which it was determined to proceed for Carthagena. The fleet being supplied with wood and water at Hispaniola, set sail for the Continent of New Spain, and on the fourth of March anchored in Playa Grande, to the windward of Carthagena. Admiral de Torres had already sailed to the Havannah; but Carthagena was strongly fortified, and the garrison reinforced by the crews of a small squadron of large ships, commanded by Don Blas de Leso, an officer of experience and reputation. Here the English admiral lay inactive till the ninth, when the troops were landed on the island of Tierra Bomba, near the mouth of the harbour, known by the name of Boca-chica, or Little-mouth, which was surprisingly fortified with castles, batteries, booms, chains, cables, and ships of war. The British forces erected a battery on shore, with which they made a breach in the principal fort, while the admiral sent in a number of ships to divide the fire of the enemy, and co-operate with the endeavours of the army. Lord Aubrey Beauclerc, a gallant officer, who commanded one of these ships, was slain on this occasion. The

breach being deemed practicable, the forces advanced to the attack; but the forts and batteries were abandoned; the Spanish ships that lay athwart the harbour's mouth were destroyed or taken; the passage was opened, and the fleet entered without farther opposition. Then the forces were re-embarked with the artillery, and landed within a mile of Carthagena, where they were opposed by about seven hundred Spaniards, whom they obliged to retire. The admiral and general had contracted a hearty contempt for each other, and took all opportunities of expressing their mutual dislike: far from acting vigorously in concert, for the advantage of the community, they maintained a mutual reserve, and separate cabals; and each proved more eager for the disgrace of his rival, than zealous for the honour of the nation.

The general complained that the fleet lay idle while his troops were harassed and diminished by hard duty and distemper. The admiral affirmed, that his ships could not lie near enough to batter the town of Carthagena: he upbraided the general with inactivity and want of resolution to attack the fort of St. Lazar, which commanded the town, and might be taken by scalade. Wentworth, stimulated by these reproaches, resolved to try the experiment. His forces marched up to the attack; but the guides being slain, they mistook their route, and advanced to the strongest part of the fortification, where they were moreover exposed to the fire of the town. Colonel Grant, who commanded the grenadiers, was mortally wounded: the scaling-ladders were found too short: the officers were perplexed for want of orders and directions: yet the soldiers sustained a severe fire for several hours with surprising intrepidity, and at length retreated, leaving about six hundred killed or wounded on the spot. Their number was now so much reduced, that they could no longer maintain their footing on shore; besides, the rainy season had begun with such violence, as rendered

it impossible for them to live in camp: they were, therefore, re-embarked; and all hope of further success immediately vanished. The admiral, however, in order to demonstrate the impracticability of taking the place by sea, sent in the Gallicia, one of the Spanish ships which had been taken at Boca-chica, to cannonade the town, with sixteen guns mounted on one side, like a floating battery. This vessel, manned by detachments of volunteers from different ships, and commanded by Captain Hoare, was warped into the inner harbour, and moored before day, at a considerable distance from the walls, in very shallow water. In this position she stood the fire of several batteries for some hours, without doing or sustaining much damage: then the admiral ordered the men to be brought off in boats, and the cables to be cut; so that she drove with the sea-breeze upon a shoal, where she was soon filled with water. This exploit was absurd, and the inference which the admiral drew from it altogether fallacious: he said it plainly proved that there was not depth of water in the inner harbour sufficient to admit large ships near enough to batter the town with any prospect of success. This, indeed, was the case in that part of the harbour to which the Gallicia was conducted; but a little farther to the left, he might have stationed four or five of his largest ships abreast, within pistol-shot of the walls; and if this step had been taken, when the land-forces marched to the attack of St. Lazar, in all probability the town would have been surrendered.

EXPEDITION TO CUBA.

After the re-embarkation of the troops, the distempers peculiar to the climate and season began to rage with redoubled fury; and great numbers of those who escaped the vengeance of the enemy perished by a more painful and inglorious fate. Nothing was heard but com-

plaints and execrations: the groans of the dying, and the service for the dead: nothing was seen but objects of woe, and images of dejection. The conductors of this unfortunate expedition agreed in nothing but the expediency of a speedy retreat from this scene of misery and disgrace. The fortifications of the harbour were demolished, and the fleet returned to Jamaica.—The miscarriage of this expedition, which had cost the nation an immense sum of money, was no sooner known in England, than the kingdom was filled with murmurs and discontent, and the people were depressed in proportion to that sanguine hope by which they had been elevated. Admiral Vernon, instead of undertaking any enterprise which might have retrieved the honour of the British arms, set sail from Jamaica with the forces in July, and anchored at the south-east part of Cuba, in a bay on which he bestowed the appellation of Cumberland Harbour. The troops were landed, and encamped at the distance of twenty miles further up the river, where they remained totally inactive, and subsisted chiefly on salt and damaged provisions, till the month of November, when, being considerably diminished by sickness, they were put on board again, and reconveyed to Jamaica. He was afterwards reinforced from England by four ships of war, and about three thousand soldiers; but he performed nothing worthy of the reputation he had acquired; and the people began to perceive that they had mistaken his character.

RUPTURE BETWEEN THE QUEEN OF HUNGARY AND THE KING OF PRUSSIA.

The affairs on the Continent of Europe were now more than ever embroiled. The King of Prussia had demanded of the court of Vienna part of Silesia, by virtue of old treaties of co-fraternity, which were either obsolete or annulled; and promised to assist the queen with all

his forces, in case she should comply with his demand; but this being rejected with disdain, he entered Silesia at the head of an army, and prosecuted his conquests with great rapidity. In the mean time the Queen of Hungary was crowned at Presburgh, after having signed a capitulation, by which the liberties of that kingdom were confirmed; and the grand duke, her consort, was, at her request, associated with her for ten years in the government. At the same time the states of Hungary refused to receive a memorial from the Elector of Bavaria. During these transactions, his Prussian majesty made his public entrance into Breslau, and confirmed all the privileges of the inhabitants. One of his generals surprised the town and fortress of Jablunka, on the confines of Hungary: Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau, who commanded another army, which formed the blockade of Great Glogau on the Oder, took the place by scalade, made the Generals Wallis and Reyski prisoners, with a thousand men that were in garrison: here, likewise, the victor found the military chest, fifty pieces of brass cannon, and a great quantity of ammunition.

The Queen of Hungary had solicited the maritime powers for assistance, but found them fearful and backward. Being obliged, therefore, to exert herself with the more vigour, she ordered Count Neuperg to assemble a body of forces, and endeavour to stop the progress of the Prussians in Silesia. The two armies encountered each other in the neighbourhood of Neiss, at a village called Molwitz; and, after an obstinate dispute, the Austrians were obliged to retire, with the loss of four thousand men, killed, wounded, or taken. The advantage was dearly purchased by the King of Prussia. His kinsman, Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburgh, and Lieutenant-General Schuylemberg, were killed in the engagement, together with a great number of general officers, and about two thousand soldiers. After this action, Brieg was surrendered to the Prussian, and he

forced the important pass of Fryewalde, which was defended by four thousand Austrian hussars. The English and Dutch ministers, who accompanied him in his progress, spared no pains to effect an accommodation; but the two sovereigns were too much irritated against each other to acquiesce in any terms that could be proposed. The Queen of Hungary was incensed to find herself attacked, in the day of her distress, by a prince to whom she had given no sort of provocation; and his Prussian majesty charged the court of Vienna with a design either to assassinate, or carry him off by treachery; a design which was disowned with expressions of indignation and disdain. Count Neuperg being obliged to abandon Silesia, in order to oppose the Bavarian arms in Bohemia, the King of Prussia sent thither a detachment to join the elector, under the command of Count Deslau, who, in his route, reduced Glatz and Neiss, almost without opposition: then his master received the homage of the Silesian states at Breslau, and returned to Berlin. In December the Prussian army was distributed in winter-quarters in Moravia, after having taken Olmutz, the capital of that province; and in March his Prussian majesty formed a camp of observation in the neighbourhood of Magdeburgh.

A TREATY OF NEUTRALITY CONCLUDED WITH FRANCE FOR HANOVER.

The Elector of Hanover was alarmed at the success of the King of Prussia, in apprehension that he would become too formidable a neighbour. A scheme was said to have been proposed to the court of Vienna for attacking that prince's electoral dominions, and dividing the conquest; but it never was put in execution. Nevertheless, the troops of Hanover were augmented: the auxiliary Danes and Hessians in the pay of Great Britain were ordered to be in readiness to march; and

a good number of British forces encamped and prepared for embarkation. The subsidy of three hundred thousand pounds granted by Parliament, was remitted to the Queen of Hungary; and every thing seemed to presage the vigorous interposition of his Britannic majesty. But in a little time after his arrival at Hanover, that spirit of action seemed to flag even while her Hungarian majesty tottered on the verge of ruin. France resolved to seize this opportunity of crushing the house of Austria. In order to intimidate the Elector of Hanover, Mareschal Maillebois was sent with a numerous army into Westphalia; and this expedient proved effectual. A treaty of neutrality was concluded; and the King of Great Britain engaged to vote for the Elector of Bavaria at the ensuing election of an emperor. The design of the French court was to raise this prince to the imperial dignity, and furnish him with such succours as should enable him to deprive the Queen of Hungary of her hereditary dominions.

A BODY OF FRENCH FORCES JOIN THE ELECTOR OF BAVARIA.

While the French ministry at Vienna endeavoured to amuse the queen with the strongest assurances of his master's friendship, a body of five-and-thirty thousand men began their march for Germany, in order to join the Elector of Bavaria: another French army was assembled upon the Rhine; and the Count de Belleisle, being provided with large sums of money, was sent to negotiate with different electors. Having thus secured a majority of voices, he proceeded to Munich, where he presented the Elector of Bavaria with a commission, appointing him generalissimo of the French troops marching to his assistance; and now the treaty of Nymphenburgh was concluded. The French king engaged to assist the elector with his whole power, to-

wards raising him to the imperial throne: the elector promised, that after his elevation he would never attempt to recover any of the towns or provinces of the empire which France had conquered: that he would in his imperial capacity renounce the barrier-treaty; and agree that France should irrevocably retain whatever places she should subdue in the Austrian Netherlands. The next step of Belleisle was to negotiate another treaty between France and Prussia, importing, that the Elector of Bavaria should possess Bohemia, Upper Austria, and the Tyrolese: that the King of Poland should be gratified with Moravia and Upper Silesia; and that his Prussian majesty should retain Lower Silesia, with the town of Neiss and the county of Glatz. These precautions being taken, the Count de Belleisle repaired to Frankfort in quality of ambassador and plenipotentiary from France, at the imperial diet of election. It was in this city that the French king published a declaration, signifying, that as the King of Great Britain had assembled an army to influence the approaching election of an emperor, his most christian majesty, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, had ordered some troops to advance towards the Rhine, with a view to maintain the tranquillity of the Germanic body, and secure the freedom of the imperial election.

In July, the Elector of Bavaria being joined by the French forces under Mareschal Broglio, surprised the imperial city of Passau, upon the Danube; and entering Upper Austria, at the head of seventy thousand men, took possession of Lintz, where he received the homage of the states of that country. Understanding that the garrison of Vienna was very numerous, and that Count Palfi had assembled thirty thousand Hungarians in the neighbourhood of this capital, he made no further progress in Austria, but marched into Bohemia, where he was reinforced by a considerable body of Saxons, under the command of Count Rutowski,

natural son to the late King of Poland. By this time his Polish majesty had acceded to the treaty of Nymphenburgh, and declared war against the Queen of Hungary, on the most frivolous pretences. The Elector of Bavaria advanced to Prague, which was taken in the night by scalade; an achievement in which Maurice Count of Saxe, another natural son of the King of Poland, distinguished himself at the head of the French forces. In December the Elector of Bavaria made his public entry into his capital, where he was proclaimed King of Bohemia, and inaugurated with the usual solemnities; then he set out for Frankfort, to be present at the diet of election.

At this period the Queen of Hungary saw herself abandoned by all her allies, and seemingly devoted to destruction. She was not, however, forsaken by her courage; nor destitute of good officers and an able ministry. She retired to Presburgh, and, in a pathetic Latin speech to the states, expressed her confidence in the loyalty and valour of her Hungarian subjects. The nobility of that kingdom, touched with her presence and distress, assured her, unanimously, that they would sacrifice their lives and fortunes in her defence. The ban being raised, that brave people crowded to her standard; and the diet expressed their sentiments against her enemy by a public edict, excluding for ever the electoral house of Bavaria from the succession to the crown of Hungary: yet, without the subsidy she received from Great Britain, their courage and attachment would have proved ineffectual. By this supply she was enabled to pay her army, erect magazines, complete her warlike preparations, and put her strong places in a posture of defence. In December, her generals, Berenclau and Mentzel, defeated Count Thoring, who commanded eight thousand men, at the pass of Scardingen, and, opening their way into Bavaria, laid the whole country under contribution: while Count Kheven-

huller retook the city of Lintz, and drove the French troops out of Austria. The grand signor assured the Queen of Hungary, that, far from taking advantage of her troubles, he should seize all opportunities to convince her of his friendship: the pope permitted her to levy a tenth on the revenues of the clergy within her dominions, and even to use all the church-plate for the support of the war.

WAR BETWEEN RUSSIA AND SWEDEN.

As the czarina expressed an inclination to assist this unfortunate princess, the French court resolved to find her employment in another quarter. They had already gained over to their interest Count Gyllenburgh, prime minister and president of the chancery in Sweden. A dispute happening between him and Mr. Burnaby, the British resident at Stockholm, some warm altercation passed: Mr. Burnaby was forbid the court, and published a memorial in his own vindication; on the other hand, the King of Sweden justified his conduct in a rescript sent to all the foreign ministers. The King of Great Britain had proposed a subsidy-treaty to Sweden, which, from the influence of French councils, was rejected. The Swedes having assembled a numerous army in Finland, and equipped a large squadron of ships, declared war against Russia upon the most trifling pretences; and the fleet, putting to sea, commenced hostilities by blocking up the Russian ports in Livonia. A body of eleven thousand Swedes, commanded by General Wrangle, having advanced to Willmenstrand, were in August attacked and defeated by General Lasci, at the head of thirty thousand Russians. Count Lewenhaupt, who commanded the main army of the Swedes, resolved to take vengeance for this disgrace, after the Russian troops had retired into winter-quarters. In December he marched towards Wybourg;

but receiving letters from the Prince of Hesse-Hombourg and the Marquis de la Chetardie, the French ambassador at Petersburgh, informing him of the surprising revolution which had just happened in Russia, and proposing a suspension of hostilities, he retreated with his army in order to wait for further instructions; and the two courts agreed to a cessation of arms for three months.

REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA.

The Russians had been for some time discontented with their government. The late czarina was influenced chiefly by German councils, and employed a great number of foreigners in her service. These causes of discontent produced factions and conspiracies; and when they were discovered, the empress treated the authors of them with such severity as increased the general disaffection. Besides, they were displeased at the manner in which she had settled the succession. The Prince of Brunswick-Lunenburgh Bevern, father to the young czar, was not at all agreeable to the Russian nobility; and his consort, the Princess Anne of Mecklenburgh, having assumed the reins of government during her son's minority, seemed to follow the maxims of her aunt, the late czarina. The Russian grandees and generals, therefore, turned their eyes upon the Princess Elizabeth, who was daughter of Peter the Great, and the darling of the empire. The French ambassador gladly concurred in a project for deposing a princess who was well affected to the house of Austria. General Lasci approved of the design, which was chiefly conducted by the Prince of Hesse-Hombourg, who, in the reigns of the Empress Catherine and Peter II. had been generalissimo of the Russian army. The good-will and concurrence of the troops being secured, two regiments of guards took possession of all the avenues of the im-

perial palace at Petersburgh. The Princess Elizabeth, putting herself at the head of one thousand men, on the fifth day of December entered the winter-palace, where the Princess of Mecklenburgh and the infant czar resided. She advanced into the chamber where the princess and her consort lay, and desired them to rise and quit the palace, adding that their persons were safe, and that they could not justly blame her for asserting her right. At the same time, the Counts Osterman, Golofhairkin, Mingden, and Munich, were arrested; their papers and effects were seized, and their persons conveyed to Schlisselbourg, a fortress on the Neva. Early in the morning the senate assembling, declared all that had passed since the reign of Peter II. to be usurpation; and that the imperial dignity belonged of right to the Princess Elizabeth: she was immediately proclaimed Empress of all the Russias, and recognized by the army in Finland. She forthwith published a general act of indemnity: she created the Prince of Hesse-Hombourg generalissimo of her armies: she restored the Dolgorucky family to their honours and estates: she recalled and rewarded all those who had been banished for favouring her pretensions: she mitigated the exile of the Duke of Courland, by indulging him with a maintenance more suitable to his rank: she released General Wrangle, Count Wasaburgh, and the other Swedish officers, who had been taken at the battle of Willmenstrand; and the Princess Anne of Mecklenburgh, with her consort and children, were sent under a strong guard to Riga, the capital of Livonia.

Amidst these tempests of war and revolution, the States-General wisely determined to preserve their own tranquillity. It was doubtless their interest to avoid the dangers and expense of a war, and to profit by that stagnation of commerce which would necessarily happen among their neighbours that were at open enmity with

each other; besides, they were overawed by the declarations of the French monarch on one side; by the power, activity, and pretensions of his Prussian majesty on the other; and they dreaded the prospect of a stadtholder at the head of their army. These at least were the sentiments of many Dutch patriots, reinforced by others that acted under French influence. But the Prince of Orange numbered among his partisans and adherents many persons of dignity and credit in the commonwealth: he was adored by the populace, who loudly exclaimed against their governors, and clamoured for a war, without ceasing. This national spirit, joined to the remonstrances and requisitions made by the courts of Vienna and London, obliged the states to issue orders for an augmentation of their forces; but these were executed so slowly, that neither France nor Prussia had much cause to take umbrage at their preparations. In Italy, the King of Sardinia declared for the house of Austria: the republic of Genoa was deeply engaged in the French interest: the pope, the Venetians, and the dukedom of Tuscany were neutral: the King of Naples resolved to support the claim of his family to the Austrian dominions in Italy, and began to make preparations accordingly. His mother, the Queen of Spain, had formed a plan for erecting these dominions into a monarchy for her second son Don Philip; and a body of fifteen thousand men, being embarked at Barcelona, were transported to Orbitello, under the convoy of the united squadrons of France and Spain. While Admiral Haddock, with twelve ships of the line, lay at anchor in the bay of Gibraltar, the Spanish fleet passed the straits in the night, and was joined by the French squadron from Toulon. The British admiral, sailing from Gibraltar, fell in with them in a few days, and found both squadrons drawn up in line of battle. As he bore down upon the Spanish fleet, the French admiral sent a flag of truce, to inform him that, as the French and

Spaniards were engaged in a joint expedition, he should be obliged to act in concert with his master's allies. This interposition prevented an engagement. The combined fleets amounting to double the number of the English squadron, Admiral Haddock was obliged to desist, and proceeded to Port Mahon, leaving the enemy to prosecute their voyage without molestation. The people of England were incensed at this transaction, and did not scruple to affirm, that the hands of the British admiral were tied up by the neutrality of Hanover[a].

INACTIVITY OF THE NAVAL POWER OF GREAT BRITAIN.

The court of Madrid seemed to have shaken off that indolence and phlegm which had formerly disgraced the councils of Spain. They no sooner learned the destination of Commodore Anson, who had sailed from Spithead in the course of the preceding year, than they sent Don Pizarro, with a more powerful squadron, upon the same voyage, to defeat his design. He accordingly steered the same course, and actually fell in with one or two ships of the British armament, near the straits of Magellan; but he could not weather a long and furious tempest through which Mr. Anson proceeded into the South-Sea. One of the Spanish ships perished at sea: another was wrecked on the coast of

[a] In the month of July two ships of Haddock's squadron falling in with three French ships of war, Captain Barnet, the English commodore, supposing them to be Spanish register ships, fired a shot in order to bring them to; and they refusing to comply with this signal, a sharp engagement ensued: after they had fought several hours, the French commander ceased firing, and thought proper to come to an explanation, when he and Barnet parted with mutual apologies.

In the course of this year a dangerous conspiracy was discovered at New York, in North America. One Hewson, a low publican, had engaged several negroes in a design to destroy the town, and massacre the people. Fire was set to several parts of the city; nine or ten negroes were apprehended, convicted, and burned alive. Hewson, with his wife, and a servant maid privy to the plot, were found guilty and hanged, though they died protesting their innocence.

Brazil: and Pizarro bore away for the Rio de la Plata, where he arrived with the three remaining ships in a shattered condition, after having lost twelve hundred men by sickness and famine. The Spaniards exerted the same vigilance and activity in Europe. Their privateers were so industrious and successful, that in the beginning of this year they had taken, since the commencement of the war, four hundred and seven ships belonging to the subjects of Great Britain, valued at near four millions of piastres. The traders had, therefore, too much cause to complain, considering the formidable fleets which were maintained for the protection of commerce. In the course of the summer, Sir John Norris had twice sailed towards the coast of Spain, at the head of a powerful squadron, without taking any effectual step for annoying the enemy, as if the sole intention of the ministry had been to expose the nation to the ridicule and contempt of its enemies. The inactivity of the British arms appears the more inexcusable, when we consider the great armaments which had been prepared. The land-forces of Great Britain, exclusive of the Danish and Hessian auxiliaries, amounted to sixty thousand men; and the fleet consisted of above one hundred ships of war, manned by fifty-four thousand sailors.

The general discontent of the people had a manifest influence upon the election of members for the new Parliament, which produced one of the most violent contests between the two parties which had happened since the Revolution. All the adherents of the Prince of Wales concurred with the country party, in opposition to the minister; and the Duke of Argyle exerted himself so successfully among the shires and boroughs of Scotland, that the partisans of the ministry could not secure six members out of the whole number returned from North Britain. They were, however, much more fortunate in the election of the sixteen

peers, who were chosen literally according to the list transmitted from court. Instructions were delivered by the constituents to a great number of members returned for cities and counties, exhorting and requiring them to oppose a standing army in time of peace; to vote for the mitigation of excise laws, for the repeal of septennial Parliaments, and for the limitation of placemen in the House of Commons. They likewise insisted upon their examining into the particulars of the public expense, and endeavouring to redress the grievances of the nation. Obstinate struggles were maintained in all parts of the united kingdom with uncommon ardour and perseverance; and such a national spirit of opposition prevailed, that, notwithstanding the whole weight of ministerial influence, the country interest seemed to preponderate in the new Parliament.

REMARKABLE MOTION IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS BY LORD NOEL SOMERSET.

The king returned to England in the month of October; and on the first day of December the session was opened. Mr. Onslow being rechosen speaker was approved of by his majesty, who spoke in the usual style to both Houses. He observed, that the former Parliament had formed the strongest resolutions in favour of the Queen of Hungary, for the maintenance of the pragmatic sanction; for the preservation of the balance of power, and the peace and liberties of Europe; and that if the other powers which were under the like engagements with him had answered the just expectations so solemnly given, the support of the common cause would have been attended with less difficulty. He said he had endeavoured, by the most proper and early applications, to induce other powers, that were united with him by the ties of common interest, to concert such measures as so important and critical a conjuncture

required: that where an accommodation seemed necessary, he had laboured to reconcile princes whose union would have been the most effectual means to prevent the mischiefs which had happened, and the best security for the interest and safety of the whole. He owned his endeavours had not hitherto produced the desired effect; though he was not without hope, that a just sense of approaching danger would give a more favourable turn to the councils of other nations. He represented the necessity of putting the kingdom in such a posture of defence as would enable him to improve all opportunities of maintaining the liberties of Europe, and defeat any attempts that should be made against him and his dominions; and he recommended unanimity, vigour, and despatch. The House of Commons having appointed their several committees, the speaker reported the king's speech; and Mr. Herbert moved for an address of thanks, including an approbation of the means by which the war had been prosecuted. The motion being seconded by Mr. Trevor, Lord Noel Somerset stood up and moved, that the House would in their address desire his majesty not to engage these kingdoms in a war for the preservation of his foreign dominions. He was supported by that incorruptible patriot, Mr. Shippen, who declared he was neither ashamed nor afraid to affirm, that thirty years had made no change in any of his political opinions. He said he was grown old in the House of Commons; that time had verified the predictions he had formerly uttered; and that he had seen his conjectures ripened into knowledge. "If my country (added he) has been so unfortunate as once more to commit her interest to men who propose to themselves no advantage from their trust but that of selling it, I may, perhaps, fall once more under censure for declaring my opinion, and be once more treated as a criminal, for asserting what they who punish me cannot deny; for maintaining that

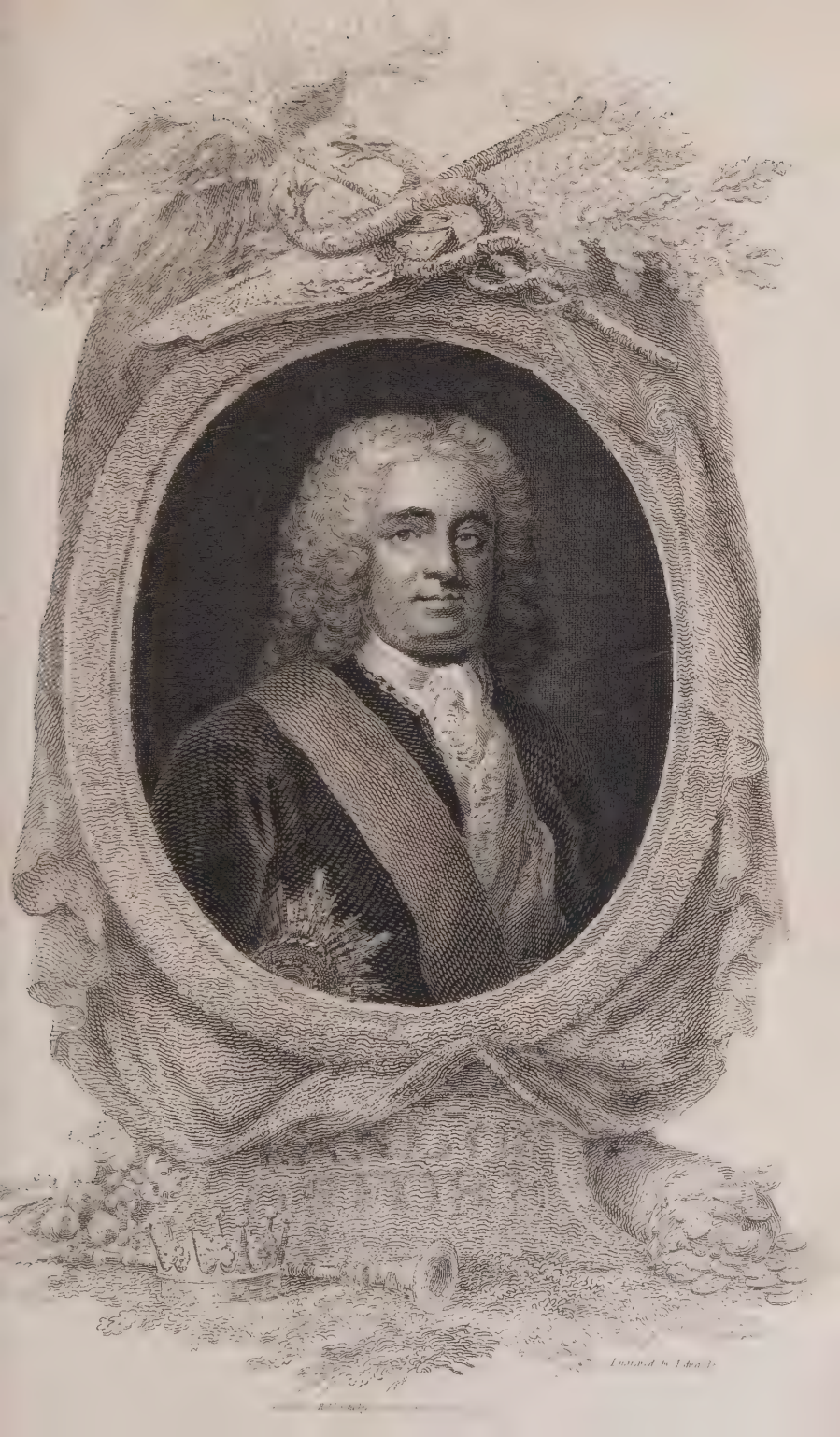
Hanoverian maxims are inconsistent with the happiness of this nation; and for preserving the caution so strongly inculcated by those patriots who framed the act of settlement, and conferred upon the present royal family their title to the throne." He particularized the instances in which the ministry had acted in diametrical opposition to that necessary constitution; and he insisted on the necessity of taking some step to remove the apprehensions of the people, who began to think themselves in danger of being sacrificed to the security of foreign dominions. Mr. Gibbon, who spoke on the same side of the question, expatiated upon the absurdity of returning thanks for the prosecution of a war which had been egregiously mismanaged. "What! (said he) are our thanks to be solemnly returned for defeats, disgrace, and losses, the ruin of our merchants, the imprisonment of our sailors, idle shows of armaments, and useless expenses?" Sir Robert Walpole, having made a short speech in defence of the first motion for an address. was answered by Mr. Pulteney, who seemed to be animated with a double proportion of patriot indignation. He asserted that, from a review of that minister's conduct since the beginning of the dispute with Spain, it would appear that he had been guilty not only of single errors, but of deliberate treachery: that he had always co-operated with the enemies of his country, and sacrificed to his private interest the happiness and honour of the British nation. He then entered into a detail of that conduct against which h e had so often declaimed; and being transported by an overheated imagination, accused him of personal attachment and affection to the enemies of the kingdom. A charge that was doubtless the result of exaggerated animosity, and served only to invalidate the other articles of imputation that were much better founded. His objections were overruled; and the address, as at first proposed, was presented to his majesty.

THE COUNTRY PARTY OBTAIN A MAJORITY IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

This small advantage, however, the minister did not consider as a proof of his having ascertained an undoubted majority in the House of Commons. There was a great number of disputed elections; and the discussion of these was the point on which the people had turned their eyes, as the criterion of the minister's power and credit. In the first, which was heard at the bar of the House, he carried his point by a majority of six only; and this he looked upon as a defeat rather than a victory. His enemies exulted in their strength, as they knew they should be joined, in matters of importance, by several members who voted against them on this occasion. The inconsiderable majority that appeared on the side of the administration plainly proved that the influence of the minister was greatly diminished, and seemed to prognosticate his further decline. This consideration induced some individuals to declare against him as a setting sun, from whose beams they could expect no further warmth. His adherents began to tremble; and he himself had occasion for all his art and equanimity. The court interest was not sufficient to support the election of their own members for Westminster. The high-bailiff had been guilty of some illegal practices at the poll; and three justices of the peace had, on pretence of preventing riots, sent for a military force to overawe the election. A petition presented by the electors of Westminster was taken into consideration by the House; and the election was declared void by a majority of four voices. The high-bailiff was taken into custody: the officer who ordered the soldiers to march, and the three justices who signed the letter, in consequence of which he acted, were reprimanded on their knees at the bar of the House.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE CREATED EARL OF ORFORD.

The country party maintained the advantage they had gained in deciding upon several other controverted elections; and Sir Robert Walpole tottered on the brink of ruin. He knew that the majority of a single vote would at any time commit him prisoner to the Tower, should ever the motion be made: and he saw that his safety could be effected by no other expedient but that of dividing the opposition. Towards the accomplishment of this purpose he employed all his credit and dexterity. His emissaries did not fail to tamper with those members of the opposite party who were the most likely to be converted by their arguments. A message was sent by the Bishop of Oxford to the Prince of Wales, importing, that if his royal highness would write a letter of condescension to the king, he and all his counsellors should be taken into favour; that fifty thousand pounds should be added to his revenue; four times that sum be disbursed immediately for the payment of his debts; and suitable provision be made in due time for all his followers. The prince declined this proposal. He declared that he would accept no such conditions while Sir Robert Walpole continued to direct the public affairs: that he looked upon him as a bar between his majesty and the affections of his people; as the author of the national grievances both at home and abroad; and as the sole cause of that contempt which Great Britain had incurred in all the courts of Europe. His royal highness was now chief of this formidable party, revered by the whole nation—a party which had gained the ascendancy in the House of Commons; which professed to act upon the principles of public virtue; which demanded the fall of an odious minister, as a sacrifice due to an injured people;



and declared that no temptation could shake their virtue; that no art could dissolve the cement by which they were united. Sir Robert Walpole, though repulsed in his attempt upon the Prince of Wales, was more successful in his other endeavours. He resolved to try his strength once more in the House of Commons, in another disputed election; and had the mortification to see the majority augmented to sixteen voices. He declared he would never more sit in that House; and next day, which was the third of February, the king adjourned both Houses of Parliament to the eighteenth day of the same month. In this interim, Sir Robert Walpole was created Earl of Orford, and resigned all his employments.

CHANGE IN THE MINISTRY.

At no time of his life did he acquit himself with such prudential policy as he now displayed. He found means to separate the parts that composed the opposition, and to transfer the popular odium from himself to those who had professed themselves his keenest adversaries. The country party consisted of the tories, reinforced by discontented whigs, who had either been disappointed in their own ambitious views, or felt for the distresses of their country, occasioned by a weak and worthless administration. The old patriots, and the whigs whom they had joined, acted upon very different, and, indeed, upon opposite principles of government: and therefore they were united only by the ties of convenience. A coalition was projected between the discontented whigs, and those of the same denomination who acted in the ministry. Some were gratified with titles and offices; and all were assured, that in the management of affairs a new system would be adopted, according to the plan they themselves should propose. The court required nothing of them, but that the Earl

of Orford should escape with impunity. His place of chancellor of the exchequer was bestowed upon Mr. Sandys, who was likewise appointed a lord of the treasury; and the Earl of Wilmington succeeded him as first commissioner of that board. Lord Harrington being dignified with the title of earl, was declared president of the council; and in his room Lord Carteret became secretary of state. The Duke of Argyle was made master-general of the ordnance, colonel of his majesty's royal regiment of horse-guards, field-marshal and commander-in-chief of all the forces in South Britain; but, finding himself disappointed in his expectations of the coalition, he, in less than a month, renounced all these employments. The Marquis of Tweedale was appointed secretary of state for Scotland, a post which had been long suppressed; Mr. Pulteney was sworn of the privy-council, and afterwards created Earl of Bath. The Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham was preferred to the head of the Admiralty, in the room of Sir Charles Wager; and, after the resignation of the Duke of Argyle, the Earl of Stair was appointed field-marshal of all his majesty's forces, as well as ambassador extraordinary to the States-General. On the seventeenth day of February the Prince of Wales, attended by a numerous retinue of his adherents, waited on his majesty, who received him graciously, and ordered his guards to be restored. Lord Carteret and Mr. Sandys were the first who embraced the offers of the court, without the consent or privity of any other leaders in the opposition, except that of Mr. Pulteney; but they declared to their friends, they would still proceed upon patriot principles; that they would concur in promoting an inquiry into past measures; and in enacting necessary laws to secure the constitution from the practices of corruption. These professions were believed, not only by their old coadjutors in the House of Commons, but also by the nation in general. The

reconciliation between the king and the Prince of Wales, together with the change in the ministry, were celebrated with public rejoicings all over the kingdom; and immediately after the adjournment nothing but concord appeared in the House of Commons.

INQUIRY INTO THE ADMINISTRATION OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

But this harmony was of short duration. It soon appeared that those who had declaimed the loudest for the liberties of their country had been actuated solely by the most sordid, and even the most ridiculous, motives of self-interest. Jealousy and mutual distrust ensued between them and their former confederates. The nation complained that, instead of a total change of men and measures, they saw the old ministry strengthened by this coalition; and the same interest in Parliament predominating with redoubled influence. They branded the new converts as apostates and betrayers of their country; and in the transport of their indignation, they entirely overlooked the old object of their resentment. That a nobleman of pliant principles, narrow fortune and unbounded ambition, should forsake his party for the blandishments of affluence, power, and authority, will not appear strange to any person acquainted with the human heart; but the sensible part of mankind will always reflect with amazement upon the conduct of a man who, seeing himself idolized by his fellow-citizens as the first and firmest patriot in the kingdom, as one of the most shining ornaments of his country, could give up all his popularity, and incur the contempt or detestation of mankind, for the wretched consideration of an empty title, without office, influence, or the least substantial appendage. One cannot, without an emotion of grief, contemplate such an instance of infatuation; one cannot but lament that such glory

should have been so weakly forfeited; that such talents should have been lost to the cause of liberty and virtue. Doubtless he flattered himself with the hope of one day directing the councils of his sovereign; but this was never accomplished, and he remained a solitary monument of blasted ambition. Before the change in the ministry, Mr. Pulteney moved that the several papers relating to the conduct of the war, which had been laid before the House, should be referred to a select committee, who should examine strictly into the particulars, and make a report to the House of their remarks and objections. The motion introduced a debate; but, upon a division, was rejected by a majority of three voices. Petitions having been presented by the merchants of London, Bristol, Liverpool, Glasgow, and almost all the trading towns in the kingdom, complaining of the losses they had sustained by the bad conduct of the war, the House resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate on these remonstrances. The articles of the London petition were explained by Mr. Glover, an eminent merchant of that city. Six days were spent in perusing papers and examining witnesses: then the same gentleman summed up the evidence, and in a pathetic speech endeavoured to demonstrate that the commerce of Great Britain had been exposed to the insults and rapine of the Spaniards, not by inattention or accident, but by one uniform and continued design. This inquiry being resumed after the adjournment, copies of instructions to admirals and captains of cruising ships were laid before the House: the Commons passed several resolutions, upon which a bill was prepared for the better protecting and securing the trade and navigation of the kingdom. It made its way through the Lower House, but was thrown out by the Lords. The pension-bill was revived, and sent up to the Peers, where it was again rejected; Lord Carteret voting against that very measure which he had so lately endeavoured to promote. On

the ninth day of March, Lord Limerick made a motion for appointing a committee to inquire into the conduct of affairs for the last twenty years: he was seconded by Sir John St. Aubyn, and supported by Mr. Velters Cornwall, Mr. Philips, Mr. W. Pitt, and Lord Percival, the new member for Westminster, who had already signalized himself by his eloquence and capacity. The motion was opposed by Sir Charles Wager, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Henry Fox, surveyor-general to his majesty's works, and brother to Lord Ilchester. Though the opposition was faint and frivolous, the proposal was rejected by a majority of two voices. Lord Limerick, not yet discouraged, made a motion, on the twenty-third day of March, for an inquiry into the conduct of Robert Earl of Orford for the last ten years of his administration; and, after a sharp debate, it was carried in the affirmative. The House resolved to choose a secret committee by ballot; and in the mean time presented an address to the king, assuring him of their fidelity, zeal, and affection.

Sir Robert Godschall having moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the act for septennial Parliaments, he was seconded by Sir John Barnard; but warmly opposed by Mr. Pulteney and Mr. Sandys; and the question passed in the negative. The committee of secrecy being chosen, began to examine evidence, and Mr. Paxton, solicitor to the treasury, refusing to answer such questions as were put to him, Lord Limerick, chairman of the committee, complained to the House of his obstinacy. He was first taken into custody; and still persisting in his refusal, committed to Newgate. Then his lordship moved, that leave should be given to bring in a bill for indemnifying evidence against the Earl of Orford; and it was actually prepared by a decision of the majority. In the House of Lords it was vigorously opposed by Lord Carteret, and as strenuously supported by the Duke of Argyle; but

fell upon a division, by the weight of superior numbers. Those members in the House of Commons who heartily wished that the inquiry might be prosecuted were extremely incensed at the fate of this bill. A committee was appointed to search the journals of the Lords for precedents: their report being read, Lord Strange, son of the Earl of Derby, moved for a resolution, "that the Lords refusing to concur with the Commons of Great Britain, in an indemnification necessary to the effectual carrying on the inquiry now depending in Parliament, is an obstruction to justice, and may prove fatal to the liberties of this nation." This motion, which was seconded by Lord Quarendon, son of the Earl of Lichfield, gave rise to a warm debate; and Mr. Sandys declaimed against it, as a step that would bring on an immediate dissolution of the present form of government. It is really amazing to see with what effrontery some men can shift their maxims, and openly contradict the whole tenor of their former conduct. Mr. Sandys did not pass uncensured: he sustained some severe sarcasms on his apostasy from Sir John Hynde Cotton, who refuted all his objections: nevertheless, the motion passed in the negative. Notwithstanding this great obstruction, purposely thrown in the way of the inquiry, the secret committee discovered many flagrant instances of fraud and corruption in which the Earl of Orford had been concerned. It appeared that he had granted fraudulent contracts for paying the troops in the West Indies: that he had employed iniquitous arts to influence elections: that for secret service, during the last ten years, he had touched one million four hundred fifty-three thousand four hundred pounds of the public money: that above fifty thousand pounds of this sum had been paid to authors and printers of newspapers and political tracts written in defence of the ministry: that on the very day which preceded his resignation, he had signed orders on the civil-list revenues

for above thirty thousand pounds; but as the cash remaining in the exchequer did not much exceed fourteen thousand pounds, he had raised the remaining part of the thirty thousand by pawning the orders to a banker. The committee proceeded to make further progress in their scrutiny, and had almost prepared a third report, when they were interrupted by the prorogation of Parliament.

The ministry finding it was necessary to take some step for conciliating the affection of the people, gave way to a bill for excluding certain officers from seats in the House of Commons. They passed another for encouraging the linen manufacture; a third for regulating the trade of the plantations; and a fourth to prevent the marriage of lunatics. They voted forty thousand seamen and sixty-two thousand five hundred landmen for the service of the current year. They provided for the subsidies to Denmark and Hesse-Cassel, and voted five hundred thousand pounds to the Queen of Hungary. The expense of the year amounted to near six millions, raised by the land-tax at four shillings in the pound, by the malt-tax, by one million from the sinking fund, by annuities granted upon it for eight hundred thousand pounds, and a loan of one million six hundred thousand pounds from the bank. In the month of July, John Lord Gower was appointed keeper of his majesty's privy-seal; Allen Lord Bathurst was made captain of the band of pensioners; and on the fifteenth day of the month, Mr. Pulteney took his seat in the House of Peers as Earl of Bath. The king closed the session in the usual way, after having given them to understand that a treaty of peace was concluded between the Queen of Hungary and the King of Prussia, under his mediation; and that the late successes of the Austrian arms were in a great measure owing to the generous assistance afforded by the British nation.

THE ELECTOR OF BAVARIA CHOSEN EMPEROR.

By this time great changes had happened in the affairs of the Continent. The Elector of Bavaria was chosen Emperor of Germany at Frankfort on the Maine, and crowned by the name of Charles VII. on the twelfth day of February. Thither the imperial diet was removed from Ratisbon: they confirmed his election, and indulged him with a subsidy of fifty Roman months, amounting to about two hundred thousand pounds sterling. In the mean time, the Austrian General Khevenhuller ravaged his electorate, and made himself master of Munich, the capital of Bavaria; he likewise laid part of the Palatinate under contribution, in resentment for that elector's having sent a body of his troops to reinforce the imperial army. In March, Count Saxe, with a detachment of French and Bavarians, reduced Egra; and the Austrians were obliged to evacuate Bavaria, though they afterwards returned. Khevenhuller took post in the neighbourhood of Passau, and detached General Bernclau to Dinglesing on the Iser, to observe the motions of the enemy, who were now become extremely formidable. In May, a detachment of French and Bavarians advanced to the castle of Hilkersbergh on the Danube, with a view to take possession of a bridge over the river: the Austrian garrison immediately marched out to give them battle, and a severe action ensued, in which the imperialists were defeated.

THE KING OF PRUSSIA GAINS THE BATTLE AT CZASLAU. TREATY AT BRESLAU.

In the beginning of the year the Queen of Hungary had assembled two considerable armies in Moravia and

Bohemia. Prince Charles of Lorraine, at the head of fifty thousand men, advanced against the Saxons and Prussians, who thought proper to retire with precipitation from Moravia, which they had invaded. Then the prince took the route to Bohemia; and Mareschal Broglio, who commanded the French forces in that country, must have fallen a sacrifice, had not the King of Prussia received a strong reinforcement, and entered that kingdom before his allies could be attacked. The two armies advanced towards each other; and on the seventeenth of May joined battle at Czaslau, where the Austrians at first gained a manifest advantage, and penetrated as far as the Prussian baggage: then the irregulars began to plunder so eagerly, that they neglected every other consideration. The Prussian infantry took this opportunity to rally: the battle was renewed, and, after a very obstinate contest, the victory was snatched out of the hands of the Austrians, who were obliged to retire, with the loss of five thousand men killed, and twelve hundred taken by the enemy. The Prussians paid dear for the honour of remaining on the field of battle; and from the circumstances of this action the king is said to have conceived a disgust to the war. When the Austrians made such progress in the beginning of the engagement, he rode off with great expedition, until he was recalled by a message from his general, the Count de Schwerin, assuring his majesty that there was no danger of a defeat. Immediately after this battle, he discovered an inclination to accommodate all differences with the Queen of Hungary. The Earl of Hyndford, ambassador from the court of Great Britain, who accompanied him in this campaign, and was vested with full powers by her Hungarian majesty, did not fail to cultivate this favourable disposition; and on the first day of June, a treaty of peace between the two powers was concluded at Breslau. The queen ceded to his Prussian majesty the Upper and Lower Silesia, with the

county of Glatz in Bohemia; and he charged himself with the payment of the sum lent by the merchants of London to the late emperor, on the Silesian revenues. He likewise engaged to observe a strict neutrality during the war, and to withdraw his forces from Bohemia in fifteen days after the ratification of the treaty, in which were comprehended the King of Great Britain, Elector of Hanover, the Czarina, the King of Denmark, the States-General, the house of Wolfenbuttel, and the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, on certain conditions, which were accepted.

The King of Prussia recalled his troops; while Mareschal Broglio, who commanded the French auxiliaries in that kingdom, and the Count de Belleisle, abandoned their magazines and baggage, and retired with precipitation under the cannon of Prague. There they intrenched themselves in an advantageous situation; and Prince Charles being joined by the other body of Austrians, under Prince Lobkowitz, encamped in sight of them, on the hills of Girinsnitz. The Grand Duke of Tuscany arrived in the Austrian army, of which he took the command; and the French generals offered to surrender Prague, Egra, and all the other places they possessed in Bohemia, provided they might be allowed to march off with their arms, artillery, and baggage. The proposal was rejected, and Prague invested on all sides about the end of July. Though the operations of the siege were carried on in an awkward and slovenly manner, the place was so effectually blocked up, that famine must have compelled the French to surrender at discretion, had not very extraordinary efforts been made for their relief. The emperor had made advances to the Queen of Hungary. He promised that the French forces should quit Bohemia, and evacuate the empire; and he offered to renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of Bohemia, on condition that the Austrians would restore Bavaria; but these conditions were declined by

the court of Vienna. The King of France was no sooner apprised of the condition to which the Generals Broglio and Belleisle were reduced, than he sent orders to Mareschal Maillebois, who commanded his army on the Rhine, to march to their relief. His troops were immediately put in motion; and when they reached Amberg in the Upper Palatinate, were joined by the French and imperialists from Bavaria. Prince Charles of Lorraine having received intelligence of their junction and design, left eighteen thousand men to maintain the blockade of Prague, under the command of General Festititz, while he himself, with the rest of his army, advanced to Haydon on the frontiers of Bohemia. There he was joined by Count Khevenhuller, who from Bavaria had followed the enemy, now commanded by Count Seckendorff, and the Count de Saxe. Seckendorff, however, was sent back to Bavaria, while Mareschal Maillebois entered Bohemia on the twenty-fifth day of September: but he marched with such precaution that Prince Charles could not bring him to an engagement. Meanwhile, Festititz, for want of sufficient force, was obliged to abandon the blockade of Prague; and the French generals being now at liberty, took post at Leutmaritz. Maillebois advanced as far as Kadan; but seeing the Austrians possessed of all the passes of the mountains, he marched back to the Palatinate, and was miserably harassed in his retreat by Prince Charles, who had left a strong body with Prince Lobkowitz, to watch the motions of Belleisle and Broglio.

EXTRAORDINARY RETREAT OF M. DE BELLEISLE.

These generals seeing themselves surrounded on all hands, returned to Prague, from whence Broglio made his escape in the habit of a courier, and was sent to command the army of Maillebois, who was by this time

disgraced. Prince Lobkowitz, who now directed the blockade of Prague, had so effectually cut off all communication between that place and the adjacent country, that in a little time the French troops were reduced to great extremity, both from the severity of the season, and the want of provision. They were already reduced to the necessity of eating horse-flesh, and unclean animals; and they had no other prospect but that of perishing by famine or war, when their commander formed the scheme of a retreat, which was actually put in execution. Having taken some artful precautions to deceive the enemy, he, in the middle of December, departed from Prague at midnight, with about fourteen thousand men, thirty pieces of artillery, and some of the principal citizens as hostages for the safety of nine hundred soldiers whom he had left in garrison. Notwithstanding the difficulties he must have encountered at that season of the year, in a broken and unfrequented road, which he purposely chose, he marched with such expedition, that he had gained the passes of the mountains before he was overtaken by the horse and hussars of Prince Lobkowitz. The fatigue and hardships which the miserable soldiers underwent are inexpressible. A great number perished in the snow, and many hundreds, fainting with weariness, cold, and hunger, were left to the mercy of the Austrian irregulars, consisting of the most barbarous people on the face of the earth. The Count de Belleisle, though tortured with the hip-gout, behaved with surprising resolution and activity. He caused himself to be carried in a litter to every place where he thought his presence was necessary, and made such dispositions, that the pursuers never could make an impression upon the body of his troops; but all his artillery, baggage, and even his own equipage, fell into the hands of the enemy. On the twenty-ninth day of December he arrived at Egra, from whence he proceeded to Alsace without further molestation; but, when

he returned to Versailles, he met with a very cold reception, notwithstanding the gallant exploit which he had performed. After his escape, Prince Lobkowitz returned to Prague, and the small garrison which Belleisle had left in that place surrendered upon honourable terms; so that this capital reverted to the house of Austria.

THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN FORMS AN ARMY IN FLANDERS.

The King of Great Britain, resolving to make a powerful diversion in the Netherlands, had in the month of April ordered sixteen thousand effective men to be embarked for that country; but, as this step was taken without any previous concert with the States-General, the Earl of Stair, destined to the command of the forces in Flanders, was in the mean time appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to their high mightinesses, in order to persuade them to co-operate vigorously in the plan which his Britannic majesty had formed; a plan by which Great Britain was engaged as a principal in a foreign dispute, and entailed upon herself the whole burden of an expensive war, big with ruin and disgrace. England, from being the umpire, was now become a party in all continental quarrels; and instead of trimming the balance of Europe, lavished away her blood and treasure in supporting the interest and allies of a puny electorate in the north of Germany. The King of Prussia had been at variance with the Elector of Hanover. The Duchy of Mecklenburgh was the avowed subject of dispute; but his Prussian majesty is said to have had other more provoking causes of complaint, which, however, he did not think proper to divulge. The King of Great Britain found it convenient to accommodate these differences. In the course of this summer, the two powers concluded a convention, in consequence of which the troops of Han-

over evacuated Mecklenburgh, and three regiments of Brandenburgh took possession of those bailiwicks that were mortgaged to the King of Prussia. The Elector of Hanover being now secured from danger, sixteen thousand troops of that country, together with the six thousand auxiliary Hessians, began their march for the Netherlands; and about the middle of October arrived in the neighbourhood of Brussels, where they encamped. The Earl of Stair repaired to Ghent, where the British forces were quartered: a body of Austrians was assembled; and though the season was far advanced, he seemed determined upon some expedition: but all of a sudden the troops were sent into winter-quarters. The Austrians retired to Luxembourg; the English and Hessians remained in Flanders; and the Hanoverians marched into the county of Liege, without paying any regard to the bishop's protestation.

PROGRESS OF THE WAR BETWEEN RUSSIA AND SWEDEN.

The States-General had made a considerable augmentation of their forces by sea and land; but, notwithstanding the repeated instances of the Earl of Stair, they resolved to adhere to their neutrality: they dreaded the neighbourhood of the French; and they were far from being pleased to see the English get footing in the Netherlands. The friends of the house of Orange began to exert themselves: the states of Groningen and West Friesland protested, in favour of the prince, against the promotion of foreign generals which had lately been made; but his interest was powerfully opposed by the provinces of Zealand and Holland, which had the greatest weight in the republic. The revolution in Russia did not put an end to the war with Sweden. These two powers had agreed to an armistice of three months, during which the czarina augmented

her forces in Finland. She likewise ordered the Counts Osterman and Munich, with their adherents, to be tried: they were condemned to death, but pardoned on the scaffold, and sent in exile to Siberia. The Swedes, still encouraged by the intrigues of France, refused to listen to any terms of accommodation, unless Carelia, and the other conquests of the Czar Peter, should be restored. The French court had expected to bring over the new empress to their measures; but they found her as well disposed as her predecessor to assist the house of Austria. She remitted a considerable sum of money to the Queen of Hungary; and at that same time congratulated the Elector of Bavaria on his elevation to the imperial throne. The ceremony of her coronation was performed in May, with great solemnity, at Moscow; and in November she declared her nephew, the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, her successor, by the title of Grand Prince of all the Russias. The cessation of arms being expired, General Lasci reduced Fredericksheim, and obliged the Swedish army, commanded by Count Lewenhaupt, to retire before him, from one place to another, until at length they were quite surrounded near Helsingfors. In this emergency, the Swedish general submitted to a capitulation, by which his infantry were transported by sea to Sweden; his cavalry marched by land to Abo; and his artillery and magazines remained in the hands of the Russians. The King of Sweden being of an advanced age, the diet assembled in order to settle the succession; and the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, as grandson to the eldest sister to Charles XII. was declared next heir to the crown. A courier was immediately despatched to Moscow, to notify to the duke this determination of the diet; and this message was followed by a deputation; but when they understood that he had embraced the religion of the Greek church, and been acknowledged successor to the throne of Russia, they annulled his election for Sweden, and

resolved that the succession should not be re-established, until a peace should be concluded with the czarina. Conferences were opened at Abo for this purpose. In the mean time, the events of the war had been so long unfortunate for Sweden, that it was absolutely necessary to appease the indignation of the people with some sacrifice. The Generals Lewenhaupt and Bodenbrock were tried by a court-martial for misconduct: being found guilty, and condemned to death, they applied to the diet, by which the sentence was confirmed. The term of the subsidy-treaty between Great Britain and Denmark expiring, his Danish majesty refused to renew it; nor would he accede to the peace of Breslau. On the other hand, he became subsidiary to France, with which also he concluded a new treaty of commerce.

THE KING OF SARDINIA DECLARES FOR THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA.

The court of Versailles were now heartily tired of maintaining the war in Germany, and had actually made equitable proposals of peace to the Queen of Hungary, by whom they were rejected. Thus repulsed, they redoubled their preparations; and endeavoured, by advantageous offers, to detach the King of Sardinia from the interest of the house of Austria. This prince had espoused a sister to the grand duke, who pressed him to declare for her brother, and the Queen of Hungary promised to gratify him with some territories in the Milanese: besides, he thought the Spaniards had already gained too much ground in Italy; but, at the same time, he was afraid of being crushed between France and Spain, before he could be properly supported. He therefore temporized, and protracted the negotiation, until he was alarmed at the progress of the Spanish arms in Italy, and fixed in his determination by the subsidies of Great Britain. The Spanish army as-

sembled at Rimini, under the Duke de Montemar; and being joined by the Neapolitan forces, amounted to sixty thousand men, furnished with a large train of artillery. About the beginning of May they entered the Bolognese: then the King of Sardinia declaring against them, joined the Austrian army commanded by Count Traun; marched into the duchy of Parma; and understanding that the Duke of Modena had engaged in a treaty with the Spaniards, dispossessed that prince of his dominions. The Duke de Montemar, seeing his army diminished by sickness and desertion, retreated to the kingdom of Naples, and was followed by the King of Sardinia as far as Rimini.

Here he received intelligence that Don Philip, third son of his catholic majesty, had made an irruption into Savoy with another army of Spaniards, and already taken possession of Chamberri, the capital. He forthwith began his march for Piedmont. Don Philip abandoned Savoy at his approach, and retreating into Dauphiné, took post under the cannon of Fort Barreaux. The king pursued him thither, and both armies remained in sight of each other till the month of December, when the Marquis de Minas, an active and enterprising general, arrived from Madrid, and took upon him the command of the forces under Don Philip. This general's first exploit was against the castle of Aspremont, in the neighbourhood of the Sardinian camp. He attacked it so vigorously, that the garrison was obliged to capitulate in four-and-forty hours. The loss of this important post compelled the king to retire into Piedmont, and the Spaniards marched back into Savoy, where they established their winter-quarters. In the mean time, the Duke de Montemar, who directed the other Spanish army, though the Duke of Modena was nominal generalissimo, resigned his command to Count Gages, who attempted to penetrate into Tuscany; but was prevented by the vigilance of

Count Traun, the Austrian general. In December he quartered his troops in the Bolognese and Romagna; while the Austrians and Piedmontese were distributed in the Modenese and Parmesan. The pope was passive during the whole campaign: the Venetians maintained their neutrality, and the king of the two Sicilies was overawed by the British fleet in the Mediterranean.

The new ministry in England had sent out Admiral Matthews to assume the command of this squadron, which had been for some time conducted by Lestock, an inferior officer, as Haddock had been obliged to resign his commission, on account of his ill state of health. Matthews was likewise invested with the character of minister-plenipotentiary to the King of Sardinia and the states of Italy. Immediately after he had taken possession of his command, he ordered Captain Norris to destroy five Spanish galleys which had put into the bay of St. Tropez; and this service was effectually performed. In May he detached Commodore Rowley, with eight sail, to cruise off the harbour of Toulon; and a great number of merchant ships belonging to the enemy fell into his hands. In August he sent Commodore Martin with another squadron into the bay of Naples, to bombard that city, unless his Sicilian majesty would immediately recall his troops which had joined the Spanish army, and promise to remain neuter during the continuance of the war. Naples was immediately filled with consternation; the king subscribed to these conditions; and the English squadron rejoined the admiral in the road of Hieres, which he had chosen for his winter station. Before this period he had landed some men at St. Remo, in the territories of Genoa, and destroyed the magazines that were erected for the use of the Spanish army. He had likewise ordered two of his cruisers to attack a Spanish ship of the line, which lay at anchor in the port of Ajaccio, in the island of Corsica: but the Spanish captain set his men on shore,

and blew up his ship, rather than she should fall into the hands of the English.

OPERATIONS IN THE WEST INDIES.

In the course of this year Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth made another effort in the West Indies. They had in January received a reinforcement from England, and planned a new expedition, in concert with the governor of Jamaica, who accompanied them in their voyage. Their design was to disembark the troops at Porto Bello, and march across the isthmus of Darien, to attack the rich town of Panama. They sailed from Jamaica on the ninth day of March, and on the twenty-eighth arrived at Porto Bello. There they held a council of war, in which it was resolved that, as the troops were sickly, the rainy season begun, and several transports not yet arrived, the intended expedition was become impracticable. In pursuance of this determination the armament immediately returned to Jamaica, exhibiting a ridiculous spectacle of folly and irresolution[b]. In August, a ship of war was sent from thence, with about three hundred soldiers, to the small island of Rattan, in the bay of Honduras, of which they took possession. In September, Vernon and Wentworth received orders to return to England with such troops as remained alive: these did not amount to a tenth part of the number which had been sent abroad in that inglorious service. The inferior officers fell ignobly by sickness and despair, without an opportunity of signalizing their courage, and the commanders lived

[b] In May, two English frigates, commanded by Captain Smith and Captain Stuart, fell in with three Spanish ships of war, near the island of St. Christopher's. They forthwith engaged, and the action continued till night, by the favour of which the enemy retired to Porto Rico, in a shattered condition.

In the month of September the Tilbury ship of war, of sixty guns, was accidentally set on fire, and destroyed, off the island of Hispaniola, on which occasion one hundred and twenty-seven men perished; the rest were saved by Captain Hoare, of the Defiance, who happened to be on the same cruise.

to feel the scorn and reproach of their country. In the month of June the new colony of Georgia was invaded by an armament from St. Augustine, commanded by Don Marinel de Monteano, governor of that fortress. It consisted of six-and-thirty ships, from which four thousand men were landed at St. Simon's; and began their march for Frederica. General Oglethorpe, with a handful of men, took such wise precautions for opposing their progress, and harassed them in their march with such activity and resolution, that, after two of their detachments had been defeated, they retired to their ships, and totally abandoned the enterprise.

In England the merchants still complained that their commerce was not properly protected, and the people clamoured against the conduct of the war. They said, their burdens were increased to maintain quarrels with which they had no concern; to defray the enormous expense of inactive fleets and pacific armies. Lord C. had by this time insinuated himself into the confidence of his sovereign, and engrossed the whole direction of public affairs. The war with Spain was now become a secondary consideration, and neglected accordingly; while the chief attention of the new minister was turned upon the affairs of the Continent. The dispute with Spain concerned Britain only. The interests of Hanover were connected with the troubles of the empire. By pursuing this object he soothed the wishes of his master, and opened a more ample field for his own ambition. He had studied the policy of the Continent with peculiar eagerness. This was the favourite subject of his reflection, upon which he thought and spoke with a degree of enthusiasm. The intolerable taxes, the poverty, the ruined commerce of his country, the iniquity of standing armies, votes of credit, and foreign connexions, upon which he had so often expatiated, were now forgotten, or overlooked. He saw nothing but glory, conquest, or acquired dominion. He set the power of

France at defiance; and, as if Great Britain had felt no distress, but teemed with treasure which she could not otherwise employ, he poured forth her millions with a rash and desperate hand, in purchasing beggarly allies, and maintaining mercenary armies. The Earl of Stair had arrived in England towards the end of August, and conferred with his majesty. A privy-council was summoned; and in a few days that nobleman returned to Holland. Lord Carteret was sent with a commission to the Hague in September; and when he returned, the baggage of the king and the Duke of Cumberland, which had been shipped for Flanders, was ordered to be brought on shore. The Parliament met on the sixteenth day of November, when his majesty told them, that he had augmented the British forces in the Low Countries with sixteen thousand Hanoverians and the Hessian auxiliaries, in order to form such a force, in conjunction with the Austrian troops, as might be of service to the common cause at all events. He extolled the magnanimity and fortitude of the Queen of Hungary, as well as the resolute conduct of the King of Sardinia, and that prince's strict adherence to his engagements, though attacked in his own dominions. He mentioned the requisition made by Sweden, of his good offices for procuring a peace between that nation and Russia, the defensive alliances which he had concluded with the czarina, and with the King of Prussia, as events which could not have been expected, if Great Britain had not manifested a seasonable spirit and vigour, in defence and assistance of her ancient allies, and in maintaining the liberties of Europe. He said the honour and interest of his crown and kingdoms, the success of the war with Spain, the re-establishment of the balance and tranquillity of Europe, would greatly depend on the prudence and vigour of their resolutions. The Marquis of Tweedale moved for an address of thanks, which was opposed by the

Earl of Chesterfield, for the reasons so often urged on the same occasion; but supported by Lord C. on his new adopted maxims, with those specious arguments which he could at all times produce, delivered with amazing serenity and assurance. The motion was agreed to, and the address presented to his majesty. About this period a treaty of mutual defence and guarantee between his majesty and the King of Prussia was signed at Westminster. In the House of Commons Mr. Lyttelton made a motion for reviving the place-bill; but it was opposed by a great number of members who had formerly been strenuous advocates for this measure, and rejected upon a division. This was also the fate of a motion made to renew the inquiry into the conduct of Robert Earl of Orford. As many strong presumptions of guilt had appeared against him in the reports of the secret committee, the nation had reason to expect that this proposal would have been embraced by a great majority; but several members, who in the preceding session had been loud in their demands of justice, now shamefully contributed their talents and interest in stifling the inquiry.

EXTRAORDINARY MOTION IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS BY EARL STANHOPE.

When the House of Lords took into consideration the several estimates of the expense occasioned by the forces in the pay of Great Britain, Earl Stanhope, at the close of an elegant speech, moved for an address, to beseech and advise his majesty, that, in compassion to his people, loaded already with such numerous and heavy taxes, such large and growing debts, and greater annual expenses than the nation at any time before had ever sustained, he would exonerate his subjects of the charge and burden of those mercenaries who were taken into the service last year, without the advice or consent

of Parliament. The motion was supported by the Earl of Sandwich, who took occasion to speak with great contempt of Hanover, and, in mentioning the royal family, seemed to forget that decorum which the subject required. He had, indeed, reason to talk with asperity on the contract by which the Hanoverians had been taken into the pay of Great Britain. Levy-money was charged to the account, though they were engaged for one year only, and though not a single regiment had been raised on this occasion: they had been levied for the security of the electorate; and would have been maintained if England had never engaged in the affairs of the Continent. The Duke of Bedford enlarged upon the same subject. He said it had been suspected, nor was the suspicion without foundation, that the measures of the English ministry had long been regulated by the interest of his majesty's electoral territories: that these had been long considered as a gulf into which the treasures of Great Britain had been thrown: that the state of Hanover had been changed, without any visible cause, since the accession of its princes to the throne of England: affluence had begun to wanton in their towns, and gold to glitter in their cottages, without the discovery of mines, or the increase of their commerce; and new dominions had been purchased, of which the value was never paid from the revenues of Hanover. The motion was hunted down by the new minister, the patriot Lord Bathurst, and the Earl of Bath, which last nobleman declared, that he considered it as an act of cowardice and meanness to fall passively down the stream of popularity, to suffer his reason and integrity to be overborne by the noise of vulgar clamours, which had been raised against the measures of government by the low arts of exaggeration, fallacious reasonings, and partial representations. This is the very language which Sir Robert Walpole had often used against Mr. Pulteney and his confederates in the

House of Commons. The associates of the new secretary pleaded the cause of Hanover, and insisted upon the necessity of a land-war against France, with all the vehemence of declamation. Their suggestions were answered; their conduct was severely stigmatized by the Earl of Chesterfield, who observed, that the assembling an army in Flanders, without the concurrence of the States-General, or any other power engaged by treaty, or bound by interest, to support the Queen of Hungary, was a rash and ridiculous measure: the taking sixteen thousand Hanoverians into British pay, without consulting the Parliament, seemed highly derogatory to the rights and dignity of the great council of the nation, and a very dangerous precedent to future times: that these troops could not be employed against the emperor, whom they had already recognized: that the arms and wealth of Britain alone were altogether insufficient to raise the house of Austria to its former strength, dominion, and influence: that the assembling an army in Flanders would engage the nation as principals in an expensive and ruinous war, with a power which it ought not to provoke, and could not pretend to withstand in that manner: that while Great Britain exhausted herself almost to ruin, in pursuance of schemes founded on engagements to the Queen of Hungary, the Electorate of Hanover, though under the same engagements, and governed by the same prince, did not appear to contribute any thing as an ally to her assistance, but was paid by Great Britain for all the forces it had sent into the field, at a very exorbitant price: that nothing could be more absurd and iniquitous than to hire these mercenaries, while a numerous army lay inactive at home, and the nation groaned under such intolerable burdens. "It may be proper (added he) to repeat what may be forgotten in the multitude of other objects, that this nation, after having exalted the Elector of Hanover from a state of obscurity to the crown, is con-

demned to hire the troops of that electorate to fight their own cause; to hire them at a rate which was never demanded before; and to pay levy-money for them, though it is known to all Europe that they were not raised for this occasion." All the partisans of the old ministry joined in the opposition to Earl Stanhope's motion, which was rejected by the majority. Then the Earl of Scarborough moved for an address, to approve of the measures which had been taken on the Continent; and this was likewise carried by dint of numbers. It was not however a very eligible victory: what they gained in Parliament they lost with the people. The new ministers became more odious than their predecessors; and the people began to think public virtue was an empty name.

But the most severe opposition they underwent was in their endeavours to support a bill which they had concerted, and which had passed through the House of Commons with great precipitation: it repealed certain duties on spirituous liquors, and licences for retailing the liquors; and imposed others at an easier rate. When those severe duties, amounting almost to a prohibition, were imposed, the populace of London were sunk into the most brutal degeneracy, by drinking to excess the pernicious spirit called gin, which was sold so cheap that the lowest class of the people could afford to indulge themselves in one continued state of intoxication, to the destruction of all morals, industry, and order. Such a shameful degree of profligacy prevailed, that the retailers of this poisonous compound set up painted boards in public, inviting people to be drunk for the small expense of one penny; assuring them they might be dead drunk for twopence, and have straw for nothing. They accordingly provided cellars and places strewed with straw, to which they conveyed those wretches who were overwhelmed with intoxication. In these dismal caverns they lay until they had recovered some use of

their faculties, and then they had recourse to the same mischievous potion; thus consuming their health and ruining their families, in hideous receptacles of the most filthy vice, resounding with riot, execration, and blasphemy. Such beastly practices too plainly denoted a total want of all policy and civil regulations, and would have reflected disgrace upon the most barbarous community. In order to restrain this evil, which was become intolerable, the legislature enacted that law which we have already mentioned. But the populace soon broke through all restraint. Though no licence was obtained, and no duty paid, the liquor continued to be sold in all corners of the streets: informers were intimidated by the threats of the people; and the justices of the peace, either from indolence or corruption, neglected to put the law in execution. The new ministers foresaw that a great revenue would accrue to the crown from a repeal of this act; and this measure they thought they might the more decently take, as the law had proved ineffectual; for it appeared that the consumption of gin had considerably increased every year since those heavy duties were imposed. They, therefore, pretended that, should the price of the liquor be moderately raised, and licences granted at twenty shillings each to the retailers, the lowest class of people would be debarred the use of it to excess; their morals would of consequence be mended; and a considerable sum of money might be raised for the support of the war, by mortgaging the revenue arising from the duty and the licences. Upon these maxims the new bill was founded, and passed through the Lower House without opposition: but among the Peers it produced the most obstinate dispute which had happened since the beginning of this Parliament. The first assault it sustained was from Lord Hervey, who had been divested of his post of privy-seal, which was bestowed on Lord Gower; and these two noblemen exchanged principles from that instant. The

first was hardened into a sturdy patriot; the other suppled into an obsequious courtier. Lord Hervey on this occasion made a florid harangue upon the pernicious effects of that destructive spirit they were about to let loose upon their fellow-creatures. Several prelates expatiated on the same topics; but the Earl of Chesterfield attacked the bill with the united powers of reason, wit, and ridicule. Lord Carteret, Lord Bathurst, and the Earl of Bath, were numbered among its advocates; and shrewd arguments were advanced on both sides of the question. After very long, warm, and repeated debates, the bill passed without amendments, though the whole bench of bishops voted against it; and we cannot help owning that it has not been attended with those dismal consequences which the lords in the opposition foretold. When the question was put for committing this bill, and the Earl of Chesterfield saw the bishops join in his division, "I am in doubt (said he) whether I have not got on the other side of the question; for I have not had the honour to divide with so many lawn sleeves for several years."

BILL FOR QUIETING CORPORATIONS.

By the report of the secret committee it appeared that the then minister had commenced prosecutions against the mayors of boroughs who opposed his influence in the elections of members of Parliament. These prosecutions were founded on ambiguities in charters, or trivial informalities in the choice of magistrates. An appeal on such a process was brought into the House of Lords; and this evil falling under consideration, a bill was prepared for securing the independency of corporations; but as it tended to diminish the influence of the ministry, they argued against it with their usual eagerness and success; and it was rejected on a division. The mutiny bill and several others passed through

both Houses. The Commons granted supplies to the amount of six millions, raised by the land-tax, the malt-tax, duties on spirituous liquors and licences, and a loan from the sinking-fund. In two years the national debt had suffered an increase of two millions four hundred thousand pounds. On the twenty-first day of April the session was closed in the usual manner. The king, in his speech to both Houses, told them that, at the requisition of the Queen of Hungary, he had ordered his army, in conjunction with the Austrians, to pass the Rhine for her support and assistance: that he continued one squadron of ships in the Mediterranean, and another in the West Indies. He thanked the Commons for the ample supplies they had granted; and declared it was the fixed purpose of his heart to promote the true interest and happiness of his kingdoms. Immediately after the prorogation of Parliament he embarked for Germany, accompanied by the Duke of Cumberland, Lord Carteret, and other persons of distinction.

CONVENTION BETWEEN THE EMPEROR AND THE QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

At this period the Queen of Hungary seemed to triumph over all her enemies. The French were driven out of Bohemia and part of the Upper Palatinate; and their forces under Mareschal Broglio were posted on the Danube. Prince Charles of Lorraine, at the head of the Austrian army, entered Bavaria; and in April obtained a victory over a body of Bavarians at Braunau: at the same time, three bodies of Croatians penetrating through the passes of the Tyrolese, ravaged the whole country to the very gates of Munich. The emperor pressed the French general to hazard a battle; but he refused to run the risk, though he had received a strong reinforcement from France. His imperial ma-

jesty, thinking himself unsafe in Munich, retired to Augsburgh: Mareschal Seckendorf retreated with the Bavarian troops to Ingoldstadt, where he was afterwards joined by Mareschal Broglio, whose troops had in this retreat been pursued and terribly harassed by the Austrian cavalry and hussars. Prince Charles had opened a free communication with Munich, which now for the third time fell into the hands of the Queen of Hungary. Her arms likewise reduced Friedberg and Landsperg, while Prince Charles continued to pursue the French to Donawert, where they were joined by twelve thousand men from the Rhine. Broglio still avoided an engagement, and retreated before the enemy to Hailbron. The emperor being thus abandoned by his allies, and stripped of all his dominions, repaired to Frankfort, where he lived in indigence and obscurity. He now made advances towards an accommodation with the Queen of Hungary. His general, Seckendorf, had an interview with Count Khevenhuller at the convent of Lowersconfield, where a convention was signed. This treaty imported, that the emperor should remain neuter during the continuance of the present war; and that his troops should be quartered in Franconia: that the Queen of Hungary should keep possession of Bavaria till the peace: that Braunau and Scarding should be delivered up to the Austrians: that the French garrison of Ingoldstadt should be permitted to withdraw, and be replaced by Bavarians; but that the Austrian generals should be put in possession of all the artillery, magazines, and warlike stores belonging to the French, which should be found in the place. The governors of Egra and Ingoldstadt refusing to acquiesce in the capitulation, the Austrians had recourse to the operations of war; and both places were reduced. In Ingoldstadt they found all the emperor's domestic treasure, jewels, plate, pictures, cabinets, and curiosities, with the archives of the house of Bavaria, the most

valuable effects belonging to the nobility of that electorate, a prodigious train of artillery, and a vast quantity of provisions, arms, and ammunition.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE KING OF PRUSSIA AND THE ELECTOR OF HANOVER.

The French king, baffled in all the efforts he had hitherto made for the support of the emperor, ordered his minister at Frankfort to deliver a declaration to the diet, professing himself extremely well pleased to hear they intended to interpose their mediation for terminating the war. He said, he was no less satisfied with the treaty of neutrality which the emperor had concluded with the Queen of Hungary; an event of which he was no sooner informed, than he had ordered his troops to return to the frontiers of his dominions, that the Germanic body might be convinced of his equity and moderation. To this declaration the Queen of Hungary answered in a rescript, that the design of France was to embarrass her affairs, and deprive her of the assistance of her allies: that the Elector of Bavaria could not be considered as a neutral party in his own cause: that the mediation of the empire could only produce a peace either with or without the concurrence of France: that in the former case no solid peace could be expected; in the latter, it was easy to foresee that France would pay no regard to a peace in which she should have no concern. She affirmed, that the aim of the French king was solely to gain time to repair his losses, that he might afterwards revive the troubles of the empire. The Elector of Mentz, who had favoured the emperor, was now dead, and his successor inclined to the Austrian interest. He allowed this rescript to be entered in the journal of the diet, together with the protests which had been made when the vote of Bohemia was suppressed in the late election.

The emperor complained in a circular letter of this transaction, as a stroke levelled at his imperial dignity; and it gave rise to a warm dispute among the members of the Germanic body. Several princes resented the haughty conduct, and began to be alarmed at the success, of the house of Austria; while others pitied the deplorable situation of the emperor. The Kings of Great Britain and Prussia, as Electors of Hanover and Brandenburgh, espoused opposite sides in this contest. His Prussian majesty protested against the investiture of the duchy of Saxe Lawenburgh, claimed by the King of Great Britain: he had an interview with General Seckendorf at Anspach; and was said to have privately visited the emperor at Frankfort.

THE ENGLISH OBTAIN A VICTORY OVER THE FRENCH AT DETTINGEN.

The troops which the King of Great Britain had assembled in the Netherlands, began their march for the Rhine in the latter end of February; and in May they encamped near Hoech on the river Mayne, under the command of the Earl of Stair. This nobleman sent Major-General Bland to Frankfort, with a compliment to the emperor, assuring him, in the name of his Britannic majesty, that the respect owing to his dignity should not be violated, nor the place of his residence disturbed. Notwithstanding this assurance, the emperor retired to Munich, though he was afterwards compelled to return, by the success of the Austrians in Bavaria. The French king, in order to prevent the junction of the British forces with Prince Charles of Lorraine, ordered the Mareschal de Noailles to assemble sixty thousand men upon the Mayne; while Coigny was sent into Alsace with a numerous army, to defend that province, and oppose Prince Charles, should he attempt to pass the Rhine. The Mareschal de Noailles,

having secured the towns of Spire, Worms, and Oppenheim, passed the Rhine in the beginning of June, and posted himself on the east side of that river, above Frankfort. The Earl of Stair advanced towards him, and encamped at Killenbach, between the river Mayne and the forest of D'Armstadt; from this situation he made a motion to Aschaffenburgh, with a view to secure the navigation of the Upper Mayne; but he was anticipated by the enemy, who lay on the other side of the river, and had taken possession of the posts above, so as to intercept all supplies. They were posted on the other side of the river, opposite to the allies, whose camp they overlooked; and they found means, by their parties and other precautions, to cut off the communication by water between Frankfort and the confederates. The Duke of Cumberland had already come to make his first campaign, and his majesty arrived in the camp on the ninth day of June. He found his army, amounting to about forty thousand men, in danger of starving: he received intelligence that a reinforcement of twelve thousand Hanoverians and Hessians had reached Hanau; and he resolved to march thither, both with a view to effect a junction, and to procure provision for his forces. With this view he decamped on the twenty-sixth day of June. He had no sooner quitted Aschaffenburgh than it was seized by the French general: he had not marched above three leagues, when he perceived the enemy, to the number of thirty thousand, had passed the river farther down, at Selingenstadt, and were drawn up in order of battle at the village of Dettingen, to dispute his passage. Thus he found himself cooped up in a very dangerous situation. The enemy had possessed themselves of Aschaffenburgh behind, so as to prevent his retreat: his troops were confined in a narrow plain, bounded by hills and woods on the right, flanked on the left by the river Mayne, on the opposite side of which the French had erected

batteries that annoyed the allies on their march: in the front a considerable part of the French army was drawn up, with a narrow pass before them, the village of Dettingen on their right, a wood on their left, and a morass in the centre. Thus environed, the confederates must either have fought at a very great disadvantage, or surrendered themselves prisoners of war, had not the Duke de Gramont, who commanded the enemy, been instigated by the spirit of madness to forego these advantages. He passed the defile, and advancing towards the allies, a battle ensued. The French horse charged with great impetuosity, and some regiments of British cavalry were put in disorder; but the infantry of the allies behaved with such intrepidity and deliberation, under the eye of their sovereign, as soon determined the fate of the day: the French were obliged to give way, and repass the Mayne with great precipitation, having lost about five thousand men killed, wounded, or taken. Had they been properly pursued before they recollected themselves from their first confusion, in all probability they would have sustained a total overthrow. The Earl of Stair proposed that a body of cavalry should be detached on this service; but his advice was overruled. The loss of the allies in this action amounted to two thousand men. The Generals Clayton and Monroy were killed: the Duke of Cumberland, who exhibited uncommon proofs of courage, was shot through the calf of the leg: the Earl of Albemarle, General Huske, and several other officers of distinction, were wounded. The king exposed his person to a severe fire of cannon as well as musketry: he rode between the first and second lines with his sword drawn, and encouraged the troops to fight for the honour of England. Immediately after the action he continued his march to Hanau, where he was joined by the reinforcement. The Earl of Stair sent a trumpeter to Mareschal de Noailles, recommending to his protection the

sick and wounded that were left on the field of battle; and these the French general treated with great care and tenderness. Such generosity softens the rigours of war, and does honour to humanity.

TREATY OF WORMS.

The two armies continued on different sides of the river till the twelfth day of July, when the French general receiving intelligence that Prince Charles of Lorraine had approached the Neckar, he suddenly retired, and repassed the Rhine between Worms and Oppenheim. The King of Great Britain was visited by Prince Charles and Count Khevenhuller at Hanau, where the future operations of the campaign were regulated. On the twenty-seventh day of August, the allied army passed the Rhine at Mentz, and the king fixed his head-quarters in the episcopal palace at Worms. Here the forces lay encamped till the latter end of September, when they advanced to Spire, where they were joined by twenty thousand Dutch auxiliaries from the Netherlands. Mareschal Noailles having retreated into Upper Alsace, the allies took possession of Germersheim, and demolished the intrenchments which the enemy had raised on the Queich; then they returned to Mentz, and in October were distributed into winter-quarters, after an inactive campaign that redounded very little to the honour of those by whom the motions of the army were conducted. In September a treaty had been concluded at Worms between his Britannic majesty, the King of Sardinia, and the Queen of Hungary. She engaged to maintain thirty thousand men in Italy: the King of Sardinia obliged himself to employ forty thousand infantry and five thousand horse, in consideration of his commanding the combined army, and receiving an annual subsidy of two hundred thousand pounds from Great Britain. As a further gratifi-

cation, the queen yielded to him the city of Placentia, with several districts in the duchy of Pavia, and in the Novarese; and all her right and pretensions to Final, at present possessed by the republic of Genoa, which they hoped would give it up, on being repaid the purchase-money, amounting to three hundred thousand pounds. This sum the King of England promised to disburse; and moreover to maintain a strong squadron in the Mediterranean, the commander of which should act in concert with his Sardinian majesty. Finally, the contracting powers agreed, that Final should be constituted a free port, like that of Leghorn. Nothing could be more unjust than this treaty, by which the Genoese were negotiated out of their property. They had purchased the marquisate of Final of the late emperor for a valuable consideration, and the purchase had been guaranteed by Great Britain. It could not, therefore, be expected that they would part with this acquisition to a prince whose power they thought already too formidable; especially, on condition of its being made a free port, to the prejudice of their own commerce. They presented remonstrances against this article by their ministers at the courts of London, Vienna, and Turin; and, as very little regard was paid to their representations, they threw themselves into the arms of France and Spain for protection.

After the battle of Dettingen, Colonel Mentzel, at the head of a large body of irregulars belonging to the Queen of Hungary, made an irruption into Lorraine, part of which they ravaged without mercy. In September, Prince Charles, with the Austrian army, entered the Brisgaw, and attempted to pass the Rhine; but Mareschal Coigny had taken such precautions for guarding it on the other side, that he was obliged to abandon his design, and, marching back into the Upper Palatinate, quartered his troops in that country, and in Bavaria. By this time the Earl of Stair had solicited and

obtained leave to resign his command. He had for some time thought himself neglected; and was unwilling that his reputation should suffer on account of measures in which he had no concern. In October the King of Great Britain returned to Hanover, and the army separated. The troops in British pay marched back to the Netherlands, and the rest took their route to their respective countries. The States-General still wavered between their own immediate interest and their desire to support the house of Austria. At length, however, they supplied her with a subsidy, and ordered twenty thousand men to march to her assistance, notwithstanding the intrigues of the Marquis de Fenelon, the French ambassador at the Hague, and the declaration of the King of Prussia, who disapproved of this measure, and refused them a passage through his territories to the Rhine.

AFFAIRS IN THE NORTH.

Sweden was filled with discontents, and divided into factions. The Generals Bodenbrock and Lewenhaupt were beheaded, having been sacrificed as scape-goats for the ministry. Some unsuccessful efforts by sea and land were made against the Russians. At last the peace of Abo was concluded; and the Duke of Holstein-Utin, uncle to the successor of the Russian throne, was chosen as next heir to the crown of Sweden. A party had been formed in favour of the Prince of Denmark; and the order of the peasants actually elected him as successor. The debates in the college of nobles rose to a very dangerous degree of animosity, and were appeased by an harangue in Swedish verse, which one of the senators pronounced. The peasants yielded the point, and the succession was settled on the Duke of Holstein. Denmark, instigated by French councils, began to make preparations of war against Sweden; but

a body of Russian auxiliaries arriving in that kingdom, under the command of General Keith, and the czarina declaring she would assist the Swedes with her whole force, the King of Denmark thought proper to disarm. It had been an old maxim of French policy to embroil the courts of the north, that they might be too much employed at home to intermeddle in the affairs of Germany, while France was at war with the house of Austria. The good understanding between the czarina and the Queen of Hungary was at this period destroyed, in consequence of a conspiracy which had been formed by some persons of distinction at the court of Petersburgh, for removing the Empress Elizabeth, and recalling the Princess Anne to the administration. This design being discovered, the principal conspirators were corporally punished, and sent in exile to Siberia. The Marquis de Botta, the Austrian minister, who had resided at the court of the czarina, was suspected of having been concerned in the plot; though the grounds of this suspicion did not appear till after he was recalled, and sent as ambassador to the court of Berlin. The empress demanded satisfaction of the Queen of Hungary, who appointed commissioners to inquire into his conduct, and he was acquitted; but the czarina was not at all satisfied of his innocence. In February a defensive treaty of alliance was concluded between this princess and the King of Great Britain.

BATTLE OF CAMPO-SANTO.

By this time France was deprived of her ablest minister, in the death of the Cardinal de Fleury, who had for many years managed the affairs of that kingdom. He is said to have possessed a lively genius, and an insinuating address; to have been regular in his deportment, and moderate in his disposition; but at the same time he has been branded as deceitful, dissem-

bling, and vindictive. His scheme of politics was altogether pacific: he endeavoured to accomplish his purposes by raising and fomenting intrigues at foreign courts: he did not seem to pay much regard to the military glory of France; and he too much neglected the naval power of that kingdom. Since Broglio was driven out of Germany, the French court affected uncommon moderation. They pretended that their troops had only acted as auxiliaries while they remained in the empire: being, however, apprehensive of an irruption into their own dominions, they declared, that those troops were no longer to be considered in that light, but as subjects acting in the service of France. The campaign in Italy proved unfavourable to the Spaniards. In the beginning of February, Count Gages, who commanded the Spanish army in the Bolognese, amounting to four-and-twenty thousand men, passed the Penaro, and advanced to Campo-Santo, where he encountered the imperial and Piedmontese forces, commanded by the Counts Traun and Aspremont. The strength of the two armies was nearly equal. The action was obstinate and bloody, though indecisive. The Spaniards lost about four thousand men killed, wounded, or taken. The damage sustained by the confederates was not quite so great. Some cannon and colours were taken on both sides; and each claimed the victory. Count Gages repassed the Penaro, retreated suddenly from Bologna, and marched to Rimini in the ecclesiastical state, where he fortified his camp in an advantageous situation, after having suffered severely by desertion. Count Traun remained inactive in the Modenese till September, when he resigned his command to Prince Lobkowitz. This general entered the Bolognese in October, and then advanced towards Count Gages, who, with his forces, now reduced to seven thousand, retreated to Fano; but afterwards took possession of Pesaro, and fortified all the passes of the river Foglia.

The season was far advanced before the Spanish troops, commanded by Don Philip, in Savoy, entered upon action. In all probability, the courts of Versailles and Madrid carried on some private negotiation with the King of Sardinia. This expedient failing, Don Philip decamped from Chamberri in the latter end of August, and defiling through Dauphiné towards Briançon, was joined by the Prince of Conti, at the head of twenty thousand French auxiliaries. Thus reinforced, he attacked the Piedmontese lines at Chateau-Dauphiné; but was repulsed in several attempts, and obliged to retreat with considerable loss. The French established their winter-quarters in Dauphiné and Provence; and the Spaniards maintained their footing in Savoy.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE BRITISH FLEET IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

The British fleet, commanded by Admiral Matthews, overawed all the states that bordered on the Mediterranean. This officer, about the end of June, understanding that fourteen xebecks, laden with artillery and ammunition for the Spanish army, had arrived at Genoa, sailed thither from the road of Hieres, and demanded of the republic that they would either oblige these vessels with the stores to quit their harbour, or sequester their lading until a general peace should be established. After some dispute, it was agreed that the cannon and stores should be deposited in the castle of Bonifacio, situated on a rock at the south end of Corsica; and that the xebecks should have leave to retire without molestation. The Corsicans had some years before revolted, and shaken off the dominion of the Genoese, under which their island had remained for many centuries. They found themselves oppressed, and resolved to assert their freedom. They conferred the sovereign authority on a German adventurer, who was solemnly

proclaimed by the name of King Theodore. He had supplied them with some arms and ammunition, which he had brought from Tunis; and amused them with promises of being assisted by foreign powers in retrieving their independency; but as these promises were not performed, they treated him so roughly, that he had thought proper to quit the island, and they submitted again to their old masters. The troubles of Corsica were now revived. Theodore revisited his kingdom, and was recognized by the principal chiefs of the island. He published a manifesto: he granted a general pardon to all his subjects who should return to their obedience: he pretended to be countenanced and supported by the King of Great Britain and the Queen of Hungary. He was certainly thought a proper instrument to perplex and harass the Genoese, and was supplied at this juncture with a sum of money to purchase arms for the Corsicans; but a change soon happened in the British ministry, and then he was suffered to relapse into his original obscurity. Admiral Matthews, though he did not undertake any expedition of importance against the maritime towns of Spain, continued to assert the British empire at sea through the whole extent of the Mediterranean. The Spanish army under Don Philip was no sooner in motion, than the English admiral ordered some troops and cannon to be disembarked for the security of Villa-Franca. Some stores having been landed at Civita Vecchia, for the use of the Spanish forces under Count Gages, Matthews interpreted this transaction into a violation of the neutrality which the pope had professed; and sent thither a squadron to bombard the place. The city of Rome was filled with consternation; and the pope had recourse to the good offices of his Sardinian majesty, in consequence of which the English squadron was ordered to withdraw. The captains of single cruising ships, by their activity and vigilance, wholly interrupted the commerce of Spain;

cannonaded and burned some towns on the sea-side; and kept the whole coast in continual alarm[c].

FRUITLESS ATTEMPTS UPON THE SPANISH SETTLEMENTS IN THE WEST INDIES.

In the West Indies some unsuccessful efforts were made by an English squadron, commanded by Commodore Knowles. He attacked La Gueira, on the coast of Caraccas, in the month of February; but met with such a warm reception, that he was obliged to desist, and make the best of his way for the Dutch island Curaçoa, where he repaired the damage he had sustained. His ships being refitted, he made another attempt upon Porto Cavallo in April, which like the former miscarried. Twelve hundred marines being landed in the neighbourhood of that place, were seized with such a panic that it was found necessary to re-embark them without delay. Then the commodore abandoned the enterprise, and sailed back to his station at the Leeward Islands, without having added much to his reputation, either as to conduct or resolution. On the Continent of America the operations of the war were very inconsiderable. General Oglethorpe having received intelligence that the Spaniards prepared for another invasion from St. Augustine, assembled a body of Indians, as a reinforcement to part of his own regiment, with the highlanders and rangers, and in the spring began his march, in order to anticipate the enemy. He encamped for some time in the neighbourhood of St. Augustine, by way of defiance; but they did not think proper to hazard an engagement; and as he was in no condition to undertake a siege, he returned to Georgia. In October the Princess Louisa, youngest daughter of his Britannic majesty, was married by proxy, at Hanover, to the Prince Royal of Denmark, who met her at Altona, and conducted her to Copenhagen.

[c] See note [F], vol. vi.

CHAPTER XIX.

Debate in Parliament against the Hanoverian Troops.—Supplies granted.—Projected Invasion of Great Britain.—A French Squadron sails up the English Channel.—The Kingdom is put in a Posture of Defence.—The Design of the French defeated.—War between France and England.—Bill against those who should correspond with the Sons of the Pretender.—Naval Engagement off Toulon.—Advances towards Peace made by the Emperor.—Treaty of Frankfort.—Progress of the French King in the Netherlands.—Prince Charles of Lorraine passes the Rhine.—The King of Prussia makes an Irruption into Bohemia.—Campaign in Bavaria and Flanders.—The King of Naples joins Count Gages in Italy.—Battle of Coni.—Return of Commodore Anson.—Sir John Balchen perishes at Sea.—Revolution in the British Ministry.—Session of Parliament.—Death of the Emperor Charles VII.—Accommodation between the Queen of Hungary and the young Elector of Bavaria.—The King of Prussia gains two successive Battles at Friedberg and Sohr, over the Austrian and Saxon Forces.—Treaty of Dresden.—The Grand Duke of Tuscany elected Emperor of Germany.—The Allies are defeated at Fontenoy.—The King of Sardinia is almost stripped of his Dominions.—The English Forces take Cape Breton.—The Importance of this Conquest.—Project of an Insurrection in Great Britain.—The eldest Son of the Chevalier de St. George lands in Scotland.—Takes Possession of Edinburgh.—Defeats Sir John Cope at Preston Pans.—Efforts of the Friends of Government in Scotland.—Precautions taken in England.—The Prince Pretender reduces Carlisle, and penetrates as far as Derby.—Consternation of the Londoners.—The Rebels retreat into Scotland.—They invest the Castle of Stirling.—The King's Troops under Hawley are worsted at Falkirk.—The Duke of Cumberland assumes the Command of the Forces in Scotland.—The Rebels undertake the Siege of Fort William.

DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT AGAINST THE HANOVERIAN TROOPS.

The discontents of England were artfully inflamed by anti-ministerial writers, who not only exaggerated the burdens of the people, and drew frightful pictures

of the distress and misery which, they said, impended over the nation, but also employed the arts of calumny and misrepresentation, to excite a jealousy and national quarrel between the English and Hanoverians. They affirmed that in the last campaign the British general had been neglected and despised; while the councils of foreign officers, greatly inferior to him in capacity, quality, and reputation, had been followed, to the prejudice of the common cause: that the British troops sustained daily insults from their own mercenaries, who were indulged with particular marks of royal favour: that the sovereign himself appeared at Dettingen in a Hanoverian scarf; and that his electoral troops were of very little service in that engagement. Though the most material of these assertions were certainly false, they made a strong impression on the minds of the people, already irritated by the enormous expense of a continental war maintained for the interest of Germany. When the Parliament met in the beginning of December, a motion was made in the House of Peers, by the Earl of Sandwich, for an address, beseeching his majesty to discontinue the Hanoverian troops in British pay, in order to remove the popular discontent, and stop the murmurs of the English troops abroad. He was supported by the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Chesterfield, and all the leaders in the opposition, who did not fail to enumerate and insist upon all the circumstances we have mentioned. They moreover observed, that better troops might be hired at a smaller expense: that it would be a vain and endless task to exhaust the national treasure in enriching a hungry and barren electorate: that the popular dissatisfaction against these mercenaries was so general, and raised to such violence, as nothing but their dismission could appease: that if such hirelings should be thus continued from year to year, they might at last become a burden entailed upon the nation, and be made subservient,

under some ambitious prince, to purposes destructive of British liberty. These were the suggestions of spleen and animosity; for, granting the necessity of a land war, the Hanoverians were the most natural allies and auxiliaries which Great Britain could engage and employ. How insolent soever some few individual generals of that electorate might have been in their private deportment, certain it is, their troops behaved with great sobriety, discipline, and decorum; and in the day of battle did their duty with as much courage and alacrity as any body of men ever displayed on the like occasion. The motion was rejected by the majority; but, when the term for keeping them in the British pay was nearly expired, and the estimates for their being continued the ensuing year were laid before the House, the Earl of Sandwich renewed his motion. The lord chancellor, as speaker of the House, interposing, declared, that by their rules a question once rejected could not be revived during the same session. A debate ensued, and the second motion was overruled. The Hanoverian troops were voted in the House of Commons: nevertheless, the same nobleman moved in the Upper House, that the continuing sixteen thousand Hanoverians in British pay was prejudicial to his majesty's true interest, useless to the common cause, and dangerous to the welfare and tranquillity of the nation. He was seconded by the Duke of Marlborough, who had resigned his commission in disgust; and the proposal gave birth to another warm dispute; but victory declared, as usual, for the ministry.

In the House of Commons they sustained divers attacks. A motion was made for laying a duty of eight shillings in the pound on all places and pensions. Mr. Grenville moved for an address, to beseech his majesty, that he would not engage the British nation any further in the war on the Continent, without the concurrence of the States-General on certain stipulated propor-

tions of force and expense, as in the late war. These proposals begat vigorous debates, in which the country party were always foiled by dint of superior numbers. Such was the credit and influence of the ministry in Parliament, that although the national debt was increased by above six millions since the commencement of the war, the Commons indulged them with an enormous sum for the expense of the ensuing year. The grants specified in the votes amounted to six millions and a half: to this sum were added three millions and a half paid to the sinking-fund in perpetual taxes; so that this year's expense rose to ten millions. The funds established for the annual charge were the land and malt taxes; one million paid by the East India company for the renewal of their charter, twelve hundred thousand pounds by annuities, one million from the sinking-fund, six-and-thirty thousand pounds from the coinage, and six hundred thousand pounds by a lottery; an expedient which for some time had been annually repeated; and which, in a great measure, contributed to debauch the morals of the public, by introducing a spirit of gaming, destructive of all industry and virtue.

PROJECTED INVASION OF GREAT BRITAIN.

The dissensions of the British Parliament were suddenly suspended by an event that seemed to unite both parties in the prosecution of the same measures. This was the intelligence of an intended invasion. By the parliamentary disputes, the loud clamours, and the general dissatisfaction of the people in Great Britain, the French ministry were persuaded that the nation was ripe for a revolt. This belief was corroborated by the assertions of their emissaries in different parts of Great Britain and Ireland. These were Papists and Jacobites of strong prejudices and warm imaginations, who saw

things through the medium of passion and party, and spoke rather from extravagant zeal than from sober conviction. They gave the court of Versailles to understand, that if the Chevalier de St. George, or his eldest son, Charles Edward, should appear at the head of a French army in Great Britain, a revolution would instantly follow in his favour. This intimation was agreeable to Cardinal de Tencin, who, since the death of Fleury, had borne a share in the administration of France. He was of a violent enterprising temper. He had been recommended to the purple by the Chevalier de St. George, and was seemingly attached to the Stuart family. His ambition was flattered with the prospect of giving a king to Great Britain; of performing such eminent service to his benefactor, and of restoring to the throne of their ancestors a family connected by the ties of blood with all the greatest princes of Europe. The ministry of France foresaw, that even if this aim should miscarry, a descent upon Great Britain would make a considerable diversion from the Continent in favour of France, and embroil and embarrass his Britannic majesty, who was the chief support of the House of Austria and all its allies. Actuated by these motives, he concerted measures with the Chevalier de St. George at Rome, who, being too much advanced in years to engage personally in such an expedition, agreed to delegate his pretensions and authority to his son Charles, a youth of promising talents, sage, secret, brave, and enterprising, amiable in his person, grave, and even reserved in his deportment. He approved himself in the sequel composed and moderate in success, wonderfully firm in adversity; and though tenderly nursed in all the delights of an effeminate country and gentle climate, patient, almost beyond belief, of cold, hunger, and fatigue. Such was the adventurer now destined to fill the hope which the French ministry had conceived from the projected invasion of Great Britain.

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A FRENCH SQUADRON SAILS UP THE ENGLISH CHANNEL.

Count Saxe was appointed by the French king commander of the troops designed for this expedition, which amounted to fifteen thousand men. They began their march to Picardy, and a great number of vessels was assembled for their embarkation at Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne. It was determined that they should be landed in Kent, under convoy of a strong squadron equipped at Brest, and commanded by Monsieur de Roquefeuille, an officer of experience and capacity. The Chevalier de St. George is said to have required the personal service of the Duke of Ormond, who excused himself on account of his advanced age: be that as it will, Prince Charles departed from Rome about the end of December, in the disguise of a Spanish courier, attended by one servant only, and furnished with passports by Cardinal Aquaviva. He travelled through Tuscany to Genoa, from whence he proceeded to Savona, where he embarked for Antibes, and, prosecuting his journey to Paris, was indulged with a private audience of the French king: then he set out incognito for the coast of Picardy. The British ministry being apprised of his arrival in France, at once comprehended the destination of the armaments prepared at Brest and Boulogne. Mr. Thomson, the English resident at Paris, received orders to make a remonstrance to the French ministry, on the violation of those treaties by which the pretender to the crown of Great Britain was excluded from the territories of France. But he was given to understand, that his most christian majesty would not explain himself on that subject, until the King of England should have given satisfaction on the repeated complaints which had been made to him, touching the infractions of those very treaties which had been so often violated by his

orders. In the month of January, M. de Roquefeuille sailed from Brest, directing his course up the English channel with twenty ships of war. They were immediately discovered by an English cruiser, which ran into Plymouth; and the intelligence was conveyed by land to the board of Admiralty. Sir John Norris was forthwith ordered to take the command of the squadron at Spithead, with which he sailed round to the Downs, where he was joined by some ships of the line from Chatham, and then he found himself at the head of a squadron considerably stronger than that of the enemy.

THE KINGDOM IS PUT IN A POSTURE OF DEFENCE.

Several regiments marched to the southern coast of England: all governors and commanders were ordered to repair immediately to their respective posts: the forts at the mouths of the Thames and Medway were put in a posture of defence; and directions were issued to assemble the Kentish militia, to defend the coast in case of an invasion. On the fifteenth day of February, the king sent a message to both Houses of Parliament, intimating the arrival of the pretender's son in France, the preparations at Dunkirk, and the appearance of a French fleet in the English channel. They joined in an address, declaring their indignation and abhorrence of the design formed in favour of a popish pretender; and assuring his majesty, that they would, with the warmest zeal and unanimity, take such measures as would enable him to frustrate and defeat so desperate and insolent an attempt. Addresses of the same kind were presented by the city of London, both universities, the principal towns of Great Britain, the clergy, the dissenting ministers, the quakers, and almost all the corporations and communities of the kingdom. A requisition was made of the six thousand auxiliaries, which

the States-General were by treaty obliged to furnish on such occasions; and these were granted with great alacrity and expedition. The Earl of Stair, forgetting his wrongs, took this opportunity of offering his services to government, and was re-invested with the chief command of the forces in Great Britain. His example was followed by several noblemen of the first rank. The Duke of Montague was permitted to raise a regiment of horse; and orders were sent to bring over six thousand of the British troops from Flanders, in case the invasion should actually take place. His majesty was, in another address from Parliament, exhorted to augment his forces by sea and land: the habeas corpus act was suspended for six months, and several persons of distinction were apprehended on suspicion of treasonable practices: a proclamation was issued for putting the laws in execution against papists and nonjurors, who were commanded to retire ten miles from London; and every precaution was taken which seemed necessary for the preservation of the public tranquillity.

THE DESIGN OF THE FRENCH DEFEATED. WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

Meanwhile the French court proceeded with their preparations at Boulogne and Dunkirk, under the eye of the young pretender; and seven thousand men were actually embarked. M. de Roquefeuille sailed up the channel as far as Dungeness, a promontory on the coast of Kent, after having detached M. de Barreil, with five ships, to hasten the embarkation at Dunkirk. While the French admiral anchored off Dungeness, he perceived, on the twenty-fourth day of February, the British fleet under Sir John Norris, doubling the South Foreland from the Downs; and though the wind was against him, taking the opportunity of the tide to come

up and engage the French squadron. Roquefeuille, who little expected such a visit, could not be altogether composed, considering the great superiority of his enemies; but the tide failing, the English admiral was obliged to anchor two leagues short of the enemy. In this interval, M. de Roquefeuille called a council of war, in which it was determined to avoid an engagement, weigh anchor at sunset, and make the best of their way to the place from whence they had set sail. This resolution was favoured by a very hard gale of wind, which began to blow from the north-east, and carried them down the channel with incredible expedition. But the same storm which, in all probability, saved their fleet from destruction, utterly disconcerted the design of invading England. A great number of their transports was driven ashore and destroyed, and the rest were so damaged that they could not be speedily repaired. The English were now masters at sea, and their coast was so well guarded that the enterprise could not be prosecuted with any probability of success. The French generals nominated to serve in this expedition returned to Paris, and the young pretender resolved to wait a more favourable opportunity. In the mean time he remained in Paris, or that neighbourhood, incognito, and almost totally neglected by the court of France. Finding himself in this disagreeable situation, and being visited by John Murray of Broughton, who magnified the power of his friends in Great Britain, he resolved to make some bold effort, even without the assistance of Louis, in whose sincerity he had no faith, and forthwith took proper measures to obtain exact information touching the number, inclinations, and influence of his father's adherents in England and Scotland. The French king no longer preserved any measures with the court of London: the British resident at Paris was given to understand, that a declaration of war must ensue; and

this was actually published on the twentieth day of March. The King of Great Britain was taxed with having dissuaded the court of Vienna from entertaining any thoughts of an accommodation; with having infringed the convention of Hanover; with having exercised piracy upon the subjects of France, and with having blocked up the harbour of Toulon. On the thirty-first day of March, a like denunciation of war against France was published at London amidst the acclamations of the people.

BILL AGAINST THOSE WHO SHOULD CORRESPOND WITH THE PRETENDER'S SONS.

The Commons of England, in order to evince their loyalty, brought in a bill, denouncing the penalties of high treason against those who should maintain correspondence with the sons of the pretender. In the Upper House, Lord Hardwicke, the chancellor, moved, that a clause should be inserted, extending the crime of treason to the posterity of the offenders, during the lives of the pretender's sons. The motion, which was supported by the whole strength of the ministry, produced a warm debate, in which the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Chesterfield, the Lords Talbot and Hervey, argued against it in the most pathetic manner, as an illiberal expedient, contrary to the dictates of humanity, the law of nature, the rules of common justice, and the precepts of religion; an expedient that would involve the innocent with the guilty, and tend to the augmentation of ministerial power, for which purpose it was undoubtedly calculated. Notwithstanding these suggestions, the clause was carried in the affirmative, and the bill sent back to the Commons, where the amendment was vigorously opposed by Lord Strange, Lord Guernsey, Mr. W. Pitt, and other members, by whom

the original bill had been countenanced[a]: the majority, however, declared for the amendment, and the bill obtained the royal assent. The session of Parliament was closed in May, when the king told them, that the French had made vast preparations on the side of the Netherlands; and that the States-General had agreed to furnish the succours stipulated by treaties.

NAVAL ENGAGEMENT OFF TOULON.

By this time an action had happened in the Mediterranean, between the British fleet commanded by Admiral Matthews, and the combined squadrons of France and Spain, which had been for some time blocked up in the harbour of Toulon. On the ninth day of February they were perceived standing out of the road, to the number of four-and-thirty sail: the English admiral immediately weighed from Hieres bay; and on the eleventh, part of the fleets engaged. Matthews attacked the Spanish admiral, Don Navarro, whose ship, the Real, was a first rate, mounted with above a hundred guns. Rear-Admiral Rowley singled out M. de Court, who commanded the French squadron; and a very few captains followed the example of their commanders: but Vice-Admiral Lestock, with his whole division, remained at a great distance astern; and several captains, who were immediately under the eye of Matthews, behaved in such a manner as reflected disgrace upon their country. The whole transaction was conducted without order or deliberation. The French and Spaniards would have willingly avoided an engagement, as the British squadron was superior to them in strength and number. M. de Court, therefore,

[a] The opposition had sustained a heavy blow in the death of the Duke of Argyle, a nobleman of shining qualifications for the senate and the field, whose character would have been still more illustrious, had not some parts of his conduct subjected him to the suspicion of selfishness and inconstancy. He was succeeded in that title by his brother, Archibald, Earl of Ilay.

made the best of his way towards the Straits' mouth, probably with intention to join the Brest squadron; but he had orders to protect the Spanish fleet; and as they sailed heavily, he was obliged to wait for them, at the hazard of maintaining a battle with the English. Thus circumstanced, he made sail and lay-to by turns; so that the British admiral could not engage them in proper order; and as they outsailed his ships, he began to fear they would escape him altogether, should he wait for Vice-Admiral Lestock, who was so far astern. Under this apprehension he made the signal for engaging, while that for the line of battle was still displayed; and this inconsistency naturally introduced confusion. The fight was maintained with great vivacity by the few who engaged. The Real being quite disabled, and lying like a wreck upon the water, Mr. Matthews sent a fire-ship to destroy her; but the expedient did not take effect. The ship ordered to cover this machine did not obey the signal; so that the captain of the fire-ship was exposed to the whole fire of the enemy. Nevertheless, he continued to advance until he found the vessel sinking; and being within a few yards of the Real, he set fire to the fusees. The ship was immediately in flames, in the midst of which he and his lieutenant, with twelve men, perished. This was likewise the fate of the Spanish launch, which had been manned with fifty sailors, to prevent the fire-ship from running on board the Real. One ship of the line belonging to the Spanish squadron struck to Captain Hawke, who sent a lieutenant to take possession of her: she was afterwards retaken by the French squadron; but was found so disabled, that they left her deserted, and she was next day burned by order of Admiral Matthews. At night the action ceased; and the admiral found his own ship so much damaged that he moved his flag into another. Captain Cornwall fell in the engagement, after having exhibited a remarkable proof of courage and intrepidity; but the loss of

men was very inconsiderable. Next day the enemy appeared to leeward, and the admiral gave chase till night, when he brought to, that he might be joined by the ships astern. They were perceived again on the thirteenth at a considerable distance, and pursued till the evening, In the morning of the fourteenth, twenty sail of them were seen distinctly, and Lestock with his division had gained ground of them considerably by noon; but Admiral Matthews displayed the signal for leaving off chase, and bore away for Port Mahon, to repair the damage he had sustained. Meanwhile the combined squadrons continued their course towards the coast of Spain. M. de Court, with his division, anchored in the road of Alicant; and Don Navarro sailed into the harbour of Carthagena. Admiral Matthews, on his arrival at Minorca, accused Lestock of having misbehaved on the day of action; suspended him from his office, and sent him prisoner to England, where, in his turn, he accused his accuser. Long before the engagement, these two officers had expressed the most virulent resentment against each other. Matthews was brave, open, and undisguised; but proud, imperious, and precipitate. Lestock had signalized his courage on many occasions, and perfectly understood the whole discipline of the navy; but he was cool, cunning, and vindictive. He had been treated superciliously by Matthews, and in revenge took advantage of his errors and precipitation. To gratify this passion he betrayed the interest and glory of his country; for it is not to be doubted but that he might have come up in time to engage; and, in that case, the fleets of France and Spain would in all likelihood have been destroyed: but he intrenched himself within the punctilios of discipline, and saw with pleasure his antagonist expose himself to the hazard of death, ruin, and disgrace. Matthews himself, in the sequel, sacrificed his duty to his resentment, in restraining Lestock from pursuing and attacking the combined

squadrons on the third day after the engagement, when they appeared disabled, and in manifest disorder, and would have fallen an easy prey, had they been vigorously attacked. One can hardly, without indignation, reflect upon these instances, in which a community has so severely suffered from the personal animosity of individuals. The miscarriage off Toulon became the subject of a parliamentary inquiry in England. The Commons, in an address to the throne, desired that a court-martial might be appointed to try the delinquents. By this time Lestock had accused Matthews, and all the captains of his division who misbehaved on the day of battle. The court-martial was constituted, and proceeded to trial. Several commanders of ships were cashiered: Vice-Admiral Lestock was honourably acquitted; and Admiral Matthews rendered incapable of serving for the future in his majesty's navy. All the world knew that Lestock kept aloof, and that Matthews rushed into the hottest part of the engagement. Yet the former triumphed on his trial, and the latter narrowly escaped the sentence of death for cowardice and misconduct. Such decisions are not to be accounted for, except from prejudice and faction.

The war in Germany, which had been almost extinguished in the last campaign, began to revive, and raged with redoubled violence. The emperor had solicited the mediation of his Britannic majesty for compromising the differences between him and the court of Vienna. Prince William of Hesse-Cassel had conferred with the King of England on this subject; and a negotiation was begun at Hanau. The emperor offered to dismiss the French auxiliaries, provided the Austrians would evacuate his hereditary dominions. Nay, Prince William and Lord Carteret, as plenipotentiaries, actually agreed to preliminaries, by which his imperial majesty engaged to renounce the alliance of France, and throw himself into the arms of the maritime powers; to resign all pre-

tensions to the succession of the house of Austria; and to revive the vote of Bohemia in the electoral college; on condition of his being re-established in the possession of his dominions, recognized as emperor by the Queen of Hungary, and accommodated with a monthly subsidy for his maintenance, as his own territories were exhausted and impoverished by the war. By a separate article, the King of Great Britain promised to furnish him with three hundred thousand crowns, and to interpose his good offices with the Queen of Hungary, that his electoral dominions should be favourably treated. These preliminaries, though settled, were not signed. The court of Vienna was unwilling to part with their conquests in Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate. The queen trusted too much to the valour of her troops, and the wealth of her allies, to listen to such terms of accommodation; and whatever arguments were used by the King of Great Britain, certain it is the negotiation was dropped, on pretence that the articles were disapproved by the ministry of England. The emperor, environed with distress, renewed his application to the King of Great Britain; and even declared that he would refer his cause to the determination of the maritime powers; but all his advances were discountenanced; and the treaty of Worms dispelled all hope of accommodation. In this manner did the British ministry reject the fairest opportunity that could possibly occur of terminating the war in Germany with honour and advantage, and of freeing their country from that insufferable burden of expense under which she groaned.

TREATY OF FRANKFORT.

The inflexibility of the House of Austria and its chief ally proved serviceable to the emperor. The forlorn situation of this unfortunate prince excited the compassion of divers princes: they resented the insolence

with which the head of the empire had been treated by the court of Vienna; and they were alarmed at the increasing power of a family noted for pride, tyranny, and ambition. These considerations gave rise to the treaty of Frankfort, concluded in May between the emperor, the King of Prussia, the King of Sweden as Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the Elector Palatine. They engaged to preserve the constitution of the empire, according to the treaty of Westphalia, and to support the emperor in his rank and dignity. They agreed to employ their good offices with the Queen of Hungary, that she might be induced to acknowledge the emperor, to restore his hereditary dominions, and give up the archives of the empire that were in her possession. They guaranteed to each other their respective territories: the disputes about the succession of the late emperor they referred to the decision of the states of the empire: they promised to assist one another in case of being attacked; and they invited the King of Poland, the Elector of Cologne, and the Bishop of Liege, to accede to this treaty. Such was the confederacy that broke all the measures which had been concerted between the King of Great Britain and her Hungarian majesty, for the operations of the campaign. In the mean time, the French king declared war against this princess, on pretence that she was obstinately deaf to all terms of accommodation, and determined to carry the war into the territories of France. In her counter-declaration she taxed Louis with having infringed the most solemn engagement, with respect to the pragmatic sanction; with having spirited up different pretenders, to lay claim to the succession of the late emperor; with having endeavoured to instigate the common enemy of Christendom against her; and with having acted the incendiary in the north of Europe, that the czarina might be prevented from assisting the house of Austria, while his numerous armies overspread the empire, and deso-

lated her hereditary countries. These recriminations were literally true. The houses of Bourbon and Austria have, for many centuries, been the common disturbers and plagues of Europe.

PROGRESS OF THE FRENCH KING IN THE NETHERLANDS.

The King of France, though in himself pacific and unenterprising, was stimulated by his ministry to taste the glory of conquest in the Netherlands, where he had assembled an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, provided with a very formidable train of artillery. The chief command was vested in the Mareschal Count de Saxe, who possessed great military talents, and proved to be one of the most fortunate generals of the age in which he lived. The allied forces, consisting of English, Hanoverians, Dutch, and Austrians, to the number of seventy thousand effective men, were in the month of May assembled in the neighbourhood of Brussels, from whence they marched towards Oudenarde, and posted themselves behind the Schelde, being unable to retard the progress of the enemy. The French monarch, attended by his favourite ladies, with all the pomp of eastern luxury, arrived at Lisle on the twelfth day of the same month; and in the adjacent plain reviewed his army. The States-General, alarmed at his preparations, had, in a conference with his ambassador at the Hague, expressed their apprehensions, and entreated his most christian majesty would desist from his design of attacking their barrier. Their remonstrances having proved ineffectual, they now sent a minister to wait upon that monarch, to enforce their former representations, and repeat their entreaties; but no regard was paid to his request. The French king told him, he was determined to prosecute the war with vigour, as his moderation hitherto had served to no other purpose but that

of rendering his enemies more intractable. Accordingly, his troops invested Menin, which was in seven days surrendered upon capitulation. Ypres, Fort Knock, and Furnes, underwent the same fate; and on the twenty-ninth day of June the King of France entered Dunkirk in triumph.

PRINCE CHARLES OF LORRAINE PASSES THE RHINE.

He had taken such precautions for the defence of Alsace, which was guarded by considerable armies under the command of Coigny and Seckendorff, that he thought he had nothing to fear from the Austrians in that quarter: besides, he had received secret assurances that the King of Prussia would declare for the emperor; so that he resolved to pursue his conquests in the Netherlands. But all his measures were defeated by the activity of Prince Charles of Lorraine, and his officers, who found means to pass the Rhine, and oblige the French and Bavarian generals to retire to Lampertheim, that they might cover Strasburgh. The Austrians made themselves masters of Haguenau and Saverne; they secured the passes of Lorraine; and laid all the country of Lower Alsace under contribution. The King of France was no sooner apprised of the prince's having passed the Rhine, and penetrated into this province, than he sent off a detachment of thirty thousand men from his army in Flanders to reinforce that under the Mareschal de Coigny; and he himself began his journey from the Rhine, that he might in person check the progress of the enemy; but this design was anticipated by a severe distemper that overtook him at Mentz in Lorraine. The physicians despaired of his life. The queen, with her children, and all the princes of the blood, hastened from Versailles to pay their last duties to their dying sovereign, who, as a true penitent, dismissed his

concubines, and began to prepare himself for death: yet the strength of his constitution triumphed over the fever, and his recovery was celebrated all over his dominions with uncommon marks of joy and affection.

In the mean time the schemes of the Austrian general were frustrated by the King of Prussia, who, in the month of August, entered the electorate of Saxony, at the head of a numerous army. There he declared, in a public manifesto, that his aims were only to re-establish the peace of the empire, and to support the dignity of its head. He assured the inhabitants that they might depend upon his protection, in case they should remain quiet; but threatened them with fire and sword should they presume to oppose his arms. In a rescript, addressed to his ministers at foreign courts, he accused the Queen of Hungary of obstinacy, in refusing to acknowledge the emperor, and restore his hereditary dominions: he said he had engaged in the league of Frankfort, to hinder the head of the empire from being oppressed: that he had no intention to violate the peace of Breslau, or enter as a principal into this war: he affirmed that his design was to act as auxiliary to the emperor, and establish the quiet of Germany. He penetrated into Bohemia, and undertook the siege of Prague, the governor of which surrendered himself and his garrison prisoners of war on the sixteenth day of September. He afterwards reduced Tabor, Bodweis, and Teyn, and, in a word, subdued the greatest part of the kingdom; the Austrian forces in that country being in no condition to stop his progress. Nevertheless, he was soon obliged to relinquish his conquests. Prince Charles of Lorraine was recalled from Alsace, and repassed the Rhine in the face of the French army, commanded by the Mareschals de Coigny, Noailles, and Belleisle. Then he marched to the Danube, laid the Upper Palatinate under contribution, and entering Bohemia, joined the troops under Bathiani at Merotitz.

The King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, at this juncture, declared in favour of her Hungarian majesty. A convention for the mutual guarantee of their dominions had been signed between those two powers in December; and now Prince Charles of Lorraine was reinforced by twenty thousand Saxon troops, under the conduct of the Duke of Saxe-Wessenfels. The combined army was superior to that of his Prussian majesty, whom they resolved to engage. But he retired before them, and having evacuated all the places he had garrisoned in Bohemia, retreated with precipitation into Silesia. There his troops were put into winter quarters; and he himself returned to Berlin, extremely mortified at the issue of the campaign.

CAMPAIGN IN BAVARIA AND FLANDERS.

During these transactions, Count Seckendorff marched into Bavaria, at the head of a strong army, drove the Austrians out of the electorate, and the emperor regained possession of Munich, his capital, on the twenty-second day of October. In August, the French army passed the Rhine at Fort Louis, and invested the strong and important city of Fribourg, defended by General Demnitz, at the head of nine thousand veterans. The King of France arrived in the camp on the eleventh day of October, and the siege was carried on with uncommon vigour. The Austrian governor made incredible efforts in the defence of the place, which he maintained until it was reduced to a heap of ruins, and one half of the garrison destroyed. At length, however, they were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war, after the trenches had been open five-and-forty days, during which they had killed above fifteen thousand of the besiegers. With this conquest the French king closed the campaign, and his army was cantoned along the Rhine, under the inspection of the Count de Maillebois. By

the detachments drawn from the French army in Flanders, Count Saxe had found himself considerably weaker than the confederates: he threw up strong intrenchments behind the Lys, where he remained on the defensive, until he was reinforced by the Count de Clermont, who commanded a separate body on the side of Newport. The allies, to the number of seventy thousand, passed the Schelde, and advanced towards Helchin; but the enemy being so advantageously posted that they could not attack him with any prospect of advantage, they filed on in sight of Tournay; and on the eighth day of August encamped in the plains of Lisle, in hope of drawing Count Saxe from the situation in which he was so strongly fortified. Here they foraged for several days, and laid the open country under contribution: however, they made no attempt on the place itself, which in all probability would have fallen into their hands, had they invested it at their first approach, for then there was no other garrison but two or three battalions of militia; but Count Saxe soon threw in a considerable reinforcement. The allies were unprovided with a train of battering cannon; and their commanders would not deviate from the usual form of war. Besides, they were divided in their opinions, and despised one another. General Wade, who commanded the English and Hanoverians, was a vain, weak man, without confidence, weight, or authority; and the Austrian general, the Duke d'Aremberg, was a proud rapacious glutton, devoid of talents and sentiment. After having remained for some time in sight of Lisle, and made a general forage without molestation, they retired to their former camp on the Schelde, from whence they soon marched into winter quarters. Count Saxe at length quitted his lines; and by way of retaliation sent out detachments to ravage the Low Countries to the very gates of Ghent and Bruges. The conduct of the allied generals was severely censured in England,

and ridiculed in France, not only in private conversation, but also on their public theatres, where it became the subject of farces and pantomimes.

The campaign in Italy produced divers vicissitudes of fortune. The King of Naples, having assembled an army, joined Count Gages, and published a manifesto in vindication of his conduct, which was a direct violation of the neutrality he had promised to observe. He maintained that his moderation had been undervalued by the courts of London and Vienna; that his frontiers were threatened with the calamities of war; and that the Queen of Hungary made no secret of her intention to invade his dominions. This charge was not without foundation. The emissaries of the house of Austria endeavoured to excite a rebellion in Naples, which Prince Lobkowitz had orders to favour by an invasion. This general was encamped at Monte Rotundo, in the neighbourhood of Rome, when, in the month of June, the confederates advanced to Velletri. While the two armies remained in sight of each other, Prince Lobkowitz detached a strong body of forces, under Count Soro and General Gorani, who made an irruption into the province of Abruzzo, and took the city of Aquilla, where they distributed a manifesto, in which the Queen of Hungary exhorted the Neapolitans to shake off the Spanish yoke, and submit again to the house of Austria. This step, however, produced little or no effect, and the Austrian detachment retired at the approach of the Duke of Vieuville, with a superior number of forces. In August, Count Brown, at the head of an Austrian detachment, surprised Velletri in the night; and the King of the Two Sicilies, with the Duke of Modena, were in the utmost danger of being taken. They escaped by a postern with great difficulty, and repaired to the quarters of Count Gages, who performed the part of a great general on this occasion. He rallied the fugitives, dispelled the panic and confusion which had

begun to prevail in his camp, and made a disposition for cutting off the retreat of the Austrians. Count Brown, finding himself in danger of being surrounded, thought proper to secure his retreat, which he effected with great art and gallantry, carrying off a prodigious booty. Three thousand Spaniards are said to have fallen in this action; and eight hundred men were taken, with some standards and colours. Count Mariani, a Neapolitan general, was among the prisoners. The Austrians lost about six hundred men; and General Novati fell into the hands of the enemy; but the exploit produced no consequence of importance. The heats of autumn proved so fatal to the Austrians, who were not accustomed to the climate, that Prince Lobkowitz saw his army mouldering away, without any possibility of its being recruited: besides the country was so drained that he could no longer procure subsistence. Impelled by these considerations, he meditated a retreat. On the eleventh day of November he decamped from Faiola, marched under the walls of Rome, passed the Tiber at Ponte Molle, formerly known by the name of Pons Milvius, which he had just time to break down behind him, when the vanguard of the Spaniards and Neapolitans appeared. Part of his rear-guard, however, was taken, with Count Soro who commanded it, at Nocera; and his army suffered greatly by desertion. Nevertheless, he continued his retreat with equal skill and expedition, passed the mountains of Gubio, and by the way of Viterbo reached the Bolognese. The pope was altogether passive. In the beginning of the campaign he had caressed Lobkowitz; and now he received the King of the Two Sicilies with marks of the warmest affection. That prince having visited the chief curiosities of Rome, returned to Naples, leaving part of his troops under the command of Count Gages.

BATTLE OF CONI.

Fortune likewise favoured his brother Don Philip, in Savoy and Piedmont. He was, early in the season, joined at Antibes by the French army, under the conduct of the Prince of Conti. In the latter end of March the combined forces passed the Var, reduced the castle of Aspremont, and entered the city of Nice, without opposition. In April, they attacked the King of Sardinia, who, with twenty thousand men, was strongly intrenched among the mountains of Villa Franca. The action was obstinate and bloody; but their numbers and perseverance prevailed. He was obliged to abandon his posts, and embark on board of the British squadron, which transported him and his troops to Vado. The intention of Don Philip was to penetrate through the territories of Genoa into the Milanese; but Admiral Matthews, who hovered with a strong squadron on that coast, sent a message to the republic, declaring that, should the combined army be suffered to pass through her dominions, the King of Great Britain would consider such a step as a breach of their neutrality. The senate, intimidated by this intimation, entreated the princes to desist from their design, and they resolved to choose another route. They defiled towards Piedmont, and assaulted the strong post of Chateau Dauphiné, defended by the King of Sardinia in person. After a desperate attack, in which they lost four thousand men, the place was taken: the garrison of Demont surrendered at discretion, and the whole country of Piedmont was laid under contribution. His Sardinian majesty was not in a condition to hazard a battle; and therefore posted himself at Saluzzes, in order to cover his capital. The combined army advanced to the strong and important town of Coni, which was invested in the beginning of September. Baron Leutrum the governor

made an obstinate defence, and the situation of the place was such as rendered the siege difficult, tedious, and bloody. The King of Sardinia being reinforced by ten thousand Austrians, under General Pallavicini, advanced to its relief, and a battle ensued. The action was maintained with great vigour on both sides, till night, when his majesty, finding it impracticable to force the enemy's intrenchments, retired in good order to his camp at Murasso. He afterwards found means to throw a reinforcement and supply of provisions into Coni; and the heavy rains that fell at this period not only retarded, but even dispirited the besiegers. Nevertheless, the princes persisted in their design, notwithstanding a dearth of provisions, and the approach of winter, till the latter end of November, when the Chevalier de Soto entered the place with six hundred fresh men. This incident was no sooner known than the princes abandoned their enterprise; and, leaving their sick and wounded to the mercy of the Piedmontese, marched back to Demont. Having dismantled the fortifications of this place, they retreated with great precipitation to Dauphiné, and were dreadfully harassed by the Vaudois and light troops in the service of his Sardinian majesty, who now again saw himself in possession of Piedmont. The French troops were quartered in Dauphiné; but Don Philip still maintained his footing in Savoy, the inhabitants of which he fleeced without mercy.

RETURN OF COMMODORE ANSON.

After the action at Toulon, nothing of consequence was achieved by the British squadron in the Mediterranean; and indeed the naval power of Great Britain was, during the summer, quite inactive. In the month of June, Commodore Anson returned from his voyage of three years and nine months, in which he had surrounded the terraqueous globe. We have formerly ob-

served that he sailed with a small squadron to the South Sea, in order to annoy the Spanish settlements of Chili and Peru. Two of his large ships having been separated from him in a storm before he weathered Cape Horn, had put in at Rio de Janeiro, on the coast of Brasil, from whence they returned to Europe. A frigate, commanded by Captain Cheap, was shipwrecked on a desolate island in the South Sea. Mr. Anson having undergone a dreadful tempest, which dispersed his fleet, arrived at the island of Juan Fernandez, where he was joined by the Gloucester, a ship of the line, a sloop, and a pink loaded with provisions. These were the remains of his squadron. He made prize of several vessels; took and burned the little town of Payta; set sail from the coast of Mexico, for the Philippine Isles: and in this passage the Gloucester was abandoned and sunk: the other vessels had been destroyed for want of men to navigate them, so that nothing now remained but the commodore's own ship, the Centurion, and that but very indifferently manned; for the crews had been horribly thinned by sickness. Incredible were the hardships and misery they sustained from the shattered condition of the ships and the scorbutic disorder, when they reached the plentiful island of Tinian, where they were supplied with the necessary refreshments. Thence they prosecuted their voyage to the river of Canton in China, where the commodore ordered the ship to be sheathed, and found means to procure a reinforcement of sailors. The chief object of his attention was the rich annual ship that sails between Acapulco in Mexico, and Manilla, one of the Philippine Islands. In hopes of intercepting her, he set sail from Canton, and steered his course back to the straits of Manilla, where she actually fell into his hands, after a short but vigorous engagement. The prize was called Neustra Signora de Cabodonga, mounted with forty guns, manned with six hundred sailors, and loaded with treasure and effects to

the value of three hundred and thirteen thousand pounds sterling: with this windfall he returned to Canton, from whence he proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope, and prosecuted his voyage to England, where he arrived in safety. Though this fortunate commander enriched himself by an occurrence that may be termed almost accidental, the British nation was not indemnified for the expense of the expedition; and the original design was entirely defeated. Had the Manilla ship escaped the vigilance of the English commodore, he might have been, at his return to England, laid aside as a superannuated captain, and died in obscurity; but his great wealth invested him with considerable influence, and added lustre to his talents. He soon became the oracle which was consulted in all naval deliberations; and the king raised him to the dignity of a peerage. In July, Sir John Balchen, an admiral of approved valour and great experience, sailed from Spithead with a strong squadron, in quest of an opportunity to attack the French fleet at Brest, under the command of M. de Rochambault. In the bay of Biscay he was overtaken by a violent storm, that dispersed the ships, and drove them up the English channel. Admiral Stewart, with the greater part of them, arrived at Plymouth; but Sir John Balchen's own ship, the Victory, which was counted the most beautiful first-rate in the world, foundered at sea; and this brave commander perished, with all his officers, volunteers, and crew, amounting to eleven hundred choice seamen. On the fourth day of October, after the siege of Fribourg, the Marshal Duke de Belleisle, and his brother, happened, in their way to Berlin, to halt at a village in the forest of Hartz, dependent on the Electorate of Hanover. There they were apprehended by the bailiff of the place, and conducted as prisoners to Osterode; from whence they were removed to Stade on the Elbe, where they embarked for England. They resided at Wind-

sor till the following year, when they were allowed the benefit of the cartel which had been established between Great Britain and France at Frankfort, and released accordingly, after they had been treated by the British nobility with that respect and hospitality which was due to their rank and merit[b].

REVOLUTION IN THE BRITISH MINISTRY.

The dissensions in the British cabinet were now ripened into another revolution in the ministry. Lord Carteret, who was by this time Earl Granville, in consequence of his mother's death, had engrossed the royal favour so much, that the Duke of N—— and his brother are said to have taken umbrage at his influence and greatness. He had incurred the resentment of those who were distinguished by the appellation of patriots, and entirely forfeited his popularity. The two brothers were very powerful by their parliamentary interest; they knew their own strength, and engaged in a political alliance with the leading men in the opposition, against the prime minister and his measures. This coalition was dignified with the epithet of "The Broad Bottom," as if it had been established on a true constitutional foundation, comprehending individuals of every class, without distinction of party. The appellation, however, which they assumed was afterwards converted into a term of derision. The Earl of Granville perceiving the gathering storm, and foreseeing the impossibility of withstanding such an opposition in Parliament, wisely avoided the impending danger and disgrace, by a voluntary resignation of his employments. The Earl of Harrington succeeded him as secretary of state.

[b] Mr. Pope, the celebrated poet, died in the month of June. In October, the old Duchess of Marlborough resigned her breath, in the eighty-fifth year of her age, immensely rich, and very little regretted, either by her own family, or the world in general.

The Duke of Bedford was appointed first lord of the Admiralty, and the Earl of Chesterfield declared lord lieutenant of Ireland. The Lords Gower and Cobham were re-established in the offices they had resigned: Mr. Lyttelton was admitted as a commissioner of the treasury: even Sir John Hynde Cotton accepted of a place at court; and Sir John Philips sat at the board of trade and plantations, though he soon renounced this employment. This was rather a change of men than of measures, and turned out to the ease and advantage of the sovereign; for his views were no longer thwarted by an obstinate opposition in Parliament. The session was opened on the twenty-eighth day of November, in the usual manner. The Commons unanimously granted about six millions and a half for the service of the ensuing year, to be raised by the land, the malt, and the salt taxes, the sinking fund, and an additional duty on wines. In January, the Earl of Chesterfield set out for the Hague, with the character of ambassador extraordinary, to persuade, if possible, the States-General to engage heartily in the war. About the same time, a treaty of quadruple alliance was signed at Warsaw, by the Queen of Hungary, the King of Poland, and the maritime powers. This was a mutual guarantee of the dominions belonging to the contracting parties: but his Polish majesty was paid for his concurrence with an annual subsidy of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, two-thirds of which were defrayed by England, and the remainder was disbursed by the United Provinces[c].

The business of the British Parliament being discussed, the session was closed in the beginning of May,

[c] Robert, Earl of Orford, late prime minister, died in March, after having for a very short time enjoyed a pension of four thousand pounds granted by the crown, in consideration of his past services. Though he had for such a length of time directed the application of the public treasure, his circumstances were not affluent: he was liberal in his disposition, and had such a number of rapacious dependents to gratify, that little was left for his own private occasions.

and, immediately after the prorogation, the king set out for Hanover. The death of the Emperor Charles VII. which happened in the month of January, had entirely changed the face of affairs in the empire, and all the princes of Germany were in commotion. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, consort to her Hungarian majesty, was immediately declared a candidate for the imperial crown; while his pretensions were warmly opposed by the French king and his allies. The court of Vienna, taking advantage of the late emperor's death, sent an army to invade Bavaria in the month of March, under the conduct of General Bathiani, who routed the French and Palatine troops at Psiffenhoven; took possession of Rain; surrounded and disarmed six thousand Hessians in the neighbourhood of Ingoldstadt; and drove the Bavarian forces out of the electorate. The young elector was obliged to abandon his capital, and retire to Augsburgh, where he found himself in danger of losing all his dominions. In this emergency he yielded to the earnest solicitations of the empress his mother, enforced by the advice of his uncle, the Elector of Cologne, and of his general, Count Seckendorff, who exhorted him to be reconciled to the court of Vienna. A negotiation was immediately begun at Fuessen, where, in April, the treaty was concluded. The queen consented to recognize the imperial dignity, as having been vested in the person of his father; to acknowledge his mother as empress dowager; to restore his dominions, with all the fortresses, artillery, stores, and ammunition which she had taken: on the other hand, he renounced all claim to the succession of her father, and became guarantee of the pragmatic sanction: he acknowledged the validity of the electoral vote of Bohemia in the person of the queen; and engaged to give his voice for the grand duke, at the ensuing election of the King of the Romans. Until that should be determined, both parties agreed that Ingoldstadt should be garrisoned by neutral

troops; and that Braunau and Schardingen, with all the country lying between the Inn and the Saltza, should remain in the queen's possession, though without prejudice to the civil government, or the elector's revenue. In the mean time he dismissed the auxiliaries that were in his pay, and they were permitted to retire without molestation.

The court of Vienna had now secured the votes of all the electors, except those of Brandenburgh and the Palatinate. Nevertheless, France assembled a powerful army in the neighbourhood of Frankfort, in order to influence the election. But the Austrian army, commanded by the grand duke in person, marched thither from the Danube; and the Prince of Conti was obliged to repass the Rhine at Nordlingen. Then the grand duke repaired to Frankfort, where, on the second day of September, he was by a majority of voices declared King of the Romans, and Emperor of Germany. Meanwhile the King of Prussia had made great progress in the conquest of Silesia. The campaign began in January, when the Hungarian insurgents were obliged to retire into Moravia. In the following month the Prussian General Lehwald defeated a body of twelve thousand Austrians, commanded by General Helsrich; the town of Ratibor was taken by assault; and the king entered Silesia, in May, at the head of seventy thousand men. Prince Charles of Lorraine, being joined by the Duke of Saxe-Wessenfels and twenty thousand Saxons, penetrated into Silesia by the defiles of Landshut, and were attacked by his Prussian majesty in the plains of Striegan, near Friedberg. The battle was maintained from morning till noon, when the Saxons giving way, Prince Charles was obliged to retire with the loss of twelve thousand men, and a great number of colours, standards, and artillery. This victory, obtained on the fourth day of June, complete as it was, did not prove decisive; for, though the victor transferred the seat of

the war into Bohemia, and maintained his army by raising contributions in that country, the Austrians resolved to hazard another engagement. Their aim was to surprise him in his camp at Sohr, which they attacked on the thirtieth of September, at daybreak, but they met with such a warm reception, that, notwithstanding their repeated efforts during the space of four hours, they were repulsed with considerable damage, and retreated to Jaromire, leaving five thousand killed upon the spot, besides two thousand that were taken, with many standards, and twenty pieces of cannon. The loss of this battle was in a great measure owing to the avarice of the irregulars, who, having penetrated into the Prussian camp, began to pillage with great eagerness, giving the king an opportunity to rally his disordered troops, and restore the battle: nevertheless, they retired with the plunder of his baggage, including his military chest, the officers of his chancery, his own secretary, and all the papers of his cabinet.

TREATY OF DRESDEN. THE GRAND DUKE OF TUSCANY ELECTED EMPEROR.

After this action, his Prussian majesty returned to Berlin, and breathed nothing but peace and moderation. In August he had signed a convention with the King of Great Britain, who became guarantee of his possessions in Silesia, as yielded by the treaty of Breslau; and he promised to vote for the Grand Duke of Tuscany at the election of an emperor. This was intended as the basis of a more general accommodation. But he now pretended to have received undoubted intelligence that the King of Poland and the Queen of Hungary had agreed to invade Brandenburgh with three different armies; and that, for this purpose, his Polish majesty had demanded of the czarina the succours stipulated by treaty between the two crowns. Alarmed, or seem-

ingly alarmed, at this information, he solicited the maritime powers to fulfil their engagements, and interpose their good offices with the court of Petersburgh. Yet, far from waiting for the result of these remonstrances, he made a sudden irruption into Lusatia, took possession of Gorlitz, and obliged Prince Charles of Lorraine to retire before him into Bohemia. Then he entered Leipsic, and laid Saxony under contribution. The King of Poland, unable to resist the torrent, quitted his capital, and took refuge in Prague. His troops, reinforced by a body of Austrians, were defeated at Pirna on the fifteenth day of December; and his Prussian majesty became master of Dresden without further opposition. The King of Poland, thus deprived of his hereditary dominions, was fain to acquiesce in such terms as the conqueror thought proper to impose; and the treaty of Dresden was concluded under the mediation of his Britannic majesty. By this convention the King of Prussia retained all the contributions he had levied in Saxony; and was entitled to a million of German crowns, to be paid by his Polish majesty at the next fair of Leipsic. He and the Elector Palatine consented to acknowledge the grand duke as Emperor of Germany; and this last confirmed to his Prussian majesty certain privileges *de non evocando*, which had been granted by the late emperor, with regard to some territories possessed by the King of Prussia, though not belonging to the electorate of Brandenburgh. Immediately after the ratification of this treaty, the Prussian troops evacuated Saxony; and the peace of Germany was restored.

THE ALLIES ARE DEFEATED AT FONTENOY.

Though the French king could not prevent the elevation of the grand duke to the imperial throne, he resolved to humble the house of Austria by making

a conquest of the Netherlands. A prodigious army was there assembled, under the auspices of Mareschal Count de Saxe; and his most christian majesty, with the dauphin, arriving in the camp, they invested the strong town of Tournay on the thirtieth day of April. The Dutch garrison consisted of eight thousand men, commanded by the old Baron Dorth, who made a vigorous defence. The Duke of Cumberland assumed the chief command of the allied army assembled at Soignies: he was assisted with the advice of the Count Konigseg, an Austrian general, and the Prince of Waldeck, commander of the Dutch forces. Their army was greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy; nevertheless, they resolved to march to the relief of Tournay. They accordingly advanced to Leuse; and on the twenty-eighth day of April took post at Maulbre, in sight of the French army, which was encamped on an eminence, from the village of Antoine to a large wood beyond Vezon, having Fontenoy in their front. Next day was employed by the allies in driving the enemy from some outposts, and clearing the defiles through which they were obliged to advance to the attack; while the French completed their batteries, and made the most formidable preparations for their reception. On the thirtieth day of April, the Duke of Cumberland, having made the proper dispositions, began his march to the enemy at two o'clock in the morning: a brisk cannonade ensued; and about nine both armies were engaged. The British infantry drove the French beyond their lines; but the left wing failing in the attack on the village of Fontenoy, and the cavalry forbearing to advance on the flanks, they measured back their ground with some disorder, from the prodigious fire of the French batteries. They rallied, however, and returning to the charge with redoubled ardour, repulsed the enemy to their camp with great slaughter; but, being wholly unsupported by the other wing, and exposed both in front and flank

to a dreadful fire, which did great execution, the duke was obliged to make the necessary dispositions for a retreat about three o'clock in the afternoon; and this was effected in tolerable order. The battle was fought with great obstinacy, and the carnage on both sides was very considerable. The allies lost about twelve thousand men, including a good number of officers; among these were Lieutenant-General Campbell, and Major-General Ponsonby. The victory cost the French almost an equal number of lives; and no honour was lost by the vanquished. Had the allies given battle on the preceding day, before the enemy had taken their measures, and received all their reinforcements, they might have succeeded in their endeavours to relieve Tournay. Although the attack was generally judged rash and precipitate, the British and Hanoverian troops fought with such intrepidity and perseverance, that if they had been properly sustained by the Dutch forces, and their flanks covered by the cavalry, the French, in all likelihood, would have been obliged to abandon their enterprise. The Duke of Cumberland left his sick and wounded to the humanity of the victors; and retiring to Aeth, encamped in an advantageous situation at Lessines. The garrison of Tournay, though now deprived of all hope of succour, maintained the place to the twenty-first day of June, when the governor obtained an honourable capitulation. After the conquest of this frontier, which was dismantled, the Duke of Cumberland, apprehending the enemy had a design upon Ghent, sent a detachment of four thousand men to reinforce the garrison of that city; but they fell into an ambuscade at Pas-dumêle; and were killed or taken, except a few dragoons that escaped to Ostend: on that very night, which was the twelfth of June, Ghent was surprised by a detachment of the French army. Then they invested Ostend, which, though defended by an English garrison, and open to the sea, was, after a short siege, surrendered by

capitulation on the fourteenth day of August. Dendermonde, Oudenarde, Newport, and Aeth, underwent the same fate; while the allied army lay intrenched beyond the canal of Antwerp. The French king, having subdued the greatest part of the Austrian Netherlands, returned to Paris, which he entered in triumph.

THE KING OF SARDINIA IS ALMOST STRIPPED OF HIS DOMINIONS.

The campaign in Italy was unpropitious to the Queen of Hungary and the King of Sardinia. Count Gages passed the Apennines, and entered the state of Lucca; from thence he proceeded by the eastern coast of Genoa to Lestride-Levante. The junction of the two armies was thus accomplished, and reinforced with ten thousand Genoese: meanwhile Prince Lobkowitz decamped from Modena and took post at Parma; but he was soon succeeded by Count Schuylemberg, and sent to command the Austrians in Bohemia. The Spaniards entered the Milanese without further opposition. Count Gages, with thirty thousand men, took possession of Serravalle; and advancing towards Placentia, obliged the Austrians to retire under the cannon of Tortona; but when Don Philip, at the head of forty thousand troops, made himself master of Acqui, the King of Sardinia and the Austrian general, unable to stem the torrent, retreated behind the Tanaro. The strong citadel of Tortona was taken by the Spaniards, who likewise reduced Parma and Placentia; and forcing the passage of the Tanaro, compelled his Sardinian majesty to take shelter on the other side of the Po. Then Pavia was won by scalade; and the city of Milan submitted to the infant, though the Austrian garrison still maintained the citadel; all Piedmont, on both sides of the Po, as far as Turin, was reduced, and even that capital threatened with a siege; so that by the

month of October the territories belonging to the house of Austria, in Italy, were wholly subdued, and the King of Sardinia stripped of all his dominions; yet he continued firm and true to his engagements, and deaf to all proposals of a separate accommodation.

THE ENGLISH FORCES TAKE CAPE BRETON.

The naval transactions of Great Britain were in the course of this year remarkably spirited. In the Mediterranean, Admiral Rowley had succeeded Matthews in the command; Savona, Genoa, Final, St. Remo, with Bastia, the capital of Corsica, were bombarded; several Spanish ships were taken; but he could not prevent the safe arrrival of their rich Havannah squadron at Corunna. Commodore Barnet, in the East Indies, made prize of several French ships, richly laden; and Commodore Townshend, in the latitude of Martinico, took about thirty merchant-ships belonging to the enemy, under convoy of four ships of war, two of which were destroyed. The English privateers likewise met with uncommon success. But the most important achievement was the conquest of Louisbourg on the isle of Cape Breton, in North America; a place of great consequence, which the French had fortified at a prodigious expense. The scheme of reducing this fortress was planned in Boston, recommended by their general assembly, and approved by his majesty, who sent instructions to Commodore Warren, stationed off the Leeward Islands, to sail for the northern parts of America, and co-operate with the forces of New England in this expedition. A body of six thousand men was formed under the conduct of Mr. Pepperel, a trader of Piscataquay, whose influence was extensive in that country, though he was a man of little or no education, and utterly unacquainted with military operations. In April Mr. Warren arrived at Canso with ten ships of war;

and the troops of New England, being embarked in transports, sailed immediately for the isle of Cape Breton, where they landed without opposition. The enemy abandoned their grand battery, which was detached from the town; and the immediate seizure of it contributed in a good measure to the success of the enterprise. While the American troops, reinforced by eight hundred marines, carried on their approaches by land, the squadron blocked up the place by sea in such a manner that no succours could be introduced. A French ship of the line, with some smaller vessels destined for the relief of the garrison, were intercepted and taken by the British cruisers; and, indeed, the reduction of Louisbourg was chiefly owing to the vigilance and activity of Mr. Warren, one of the bravest and best officers in the service of England. The operations of the siege were wholly conducted by the engineers and officers who commanded the British marines; and the Americans, being ignorant of war, were contented to act under their directions. The town being considerably damaged by the bombs and bullets of the besiegers, and the garrison despairing of relief, the governor capitulated on the seventeenth day of June, when the city of Louisbourg and the isle of Cape Breton were surrendered to his Britannic majesty. The garrison and inhabitants engaged that they would not bear arms for twelve months against Great Britain or her allies; and being embarked in fourteen cartel ships, were transported to Rochefort. In a few days after the surrender of Louisbourg, two French East India ships, and another from Peru, laden with treasure, sailed into the harbour, on the supposition that it still belonged to France, and were taken by the English squadron.

The news of this conquest being transmitted to England, Mr. Pepperel was preferred to the dignity of a baronet of Great Britain, and congratulatory addresses

were presented to the king on the success of his majesty's arms. The possession of Cape Breton was, doubtless, a valuable acquisition to Great Britain. It not only distressed the French in their fishery and navigation, but removed all fears of encroachment and rivalship from the English fishers on the banks of Newfoundland. It freed New England from the terrors of a dangerous neighbour, overawed the Indians of that country, and secured the possession of Acadia to the crown of Great Britain. The plan of this conquest was originally laid by Mr. Auchmuty, judge-advocate of the court of Admiralty in New England. He demonstrated, that the reduction of Cape Breton would put the English in sole possession of the fishery of North America, which would annually return to Great Britain two millions sterling for the manufactures yearly shipped to the plantations; employ many thousand families that were otherwise unserviceable to the public; increase the shipping and mariners; extend navigation; cut off all communication between France and Canada by the river St. Laurence; so that Quebec would fall of course into the hands of the English, who might expel the French entirely from America, open a correspondence with the remote Indians, and render themselves masters of the profitable fur trade, which was now engrossed by the enemy. The natives of New England acquired great glory from the success of this enterprise. Britain, which had in some instances behaved like a stepmother to her own colonies, was now convinced of their importance, and treated those as brethren whom she had too long considered as aliens and rivals. Circumstanced as the nation is, the legislature cannot too tenderly cherish the interests of the British plantations in America. They are inhabited by a brave, hardy, industrious people, animated with an active spirit of commerce, inspired with a noble zeal for liberty and independence. The trade of Great Britain, clogged

with heavy taxes and impositions, has for some time languished in many valuable branches. The French have undersold our cloths, and spoiled our markets in the Levant. Spain is no longer supplied as usual with the commodities of England: the exports to Germany must be considerably diminished by the misunderstanding between Great Britain and the house of Austria; consequently, her greatest resource must be in her communication with her own colonies, which consume her manufactures, and make immense returns in sugar, rum, tobacco, fish, timber, naval stores, iron, furs, drugs, rice, and indigo. The southern plantations likewise produce silk; and, with due encouragement, might furnish every thing that could be expected from the most fertile soil and the happiest climate. The Continent of North America, if properly cultivated, will prove an inexhaustible fund of wealth and strength to Great Britain; and perhaps it may become the last asylum of British liberty. When the nation is enslaved by domestic despotism or foreign dominion; when her substance is wasted, her spirit broke, and the laws and constitution of England are no more; then those colonies, sent off by our fathers, may receive and entertain their sons as hapless exiles and ruined refugees.

PROJECT OF AN INSURRECTION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

While the Continent of Europe and the isles of America were thus exposed to the ravages of war, and subjected to such vicissitudes of fortune, Great Britain underwent a dangerous convulsion in her own bowels. The son of the Chevalier de St. George, fired with ambition, and animated with the hope of ascending the throne of his ancestors, resolved to make an effort for that purpose, which, though it might not be crowned

with success, should at least astonish all Christendom. The Jacobites in England and Scotland had promised, that if he would land in Britain at the head of a regular army, they would supply him with provisions, carriages, and horses, and a great number of them declared they would take up arms and join his standard; but they disapproved of his coming over without forces, as a dangerous enterprise, that would in all probability end in the ruin of himself and all his adherents. This advice, including an exact detail of his father's interest, with the dispositions of his particular friends in every town and county, was transmitted to London in January, in order to be forwarded to Prince Charles; but the person with whom it was intrusted could find no safe method of conveyance; so that he sent it back to Scotland, from whence it was despatched to France; but before it reached Paris, Charles had left that kingdom. Had the paper come to his hands in due time, perhaps he would not have embarked in the undertaking, though he was stimulated to the attempt by many concurring motives. Certain it is, he was cajoled by the sanguine misrepresentations of a few adventurers, who hoped to profit by the expedition. They assured him, that the whole nation was disaffected to the reigning family; that the people could no longer bear the immense load of taxes, which was daily increasing; and that the most considerable persons of the kingdom would gladly seize the first opportunity of crowding to his standard. On the other hand, he knew the British government had taken some effectual steps to alienate the friends of his house from the principles they had hitherto professed. Some of them had accepted posts and pensions; others were preferred in the army; and the Parliament were so attached to the reigning family, that he had nothing to hope from their deliberations. He expected no material succour from the court of France: he foresaw that delay would diminish the number of his adherents in

Great Britain; and therefore resolved to seize the present occasion, which in many respects was propitious to his design. Without doubt, had he been properly supported, he could not have found a more favourable opportunity of exciting an intestine commotion in Great Britain; for Scotland was quite unfurnished with troops; King George was in Germany; the Duke of Cumberland, at the head of the British army, was employed in Flanders, and a great part of the Highlanders were keen for insurrection. Their natural principles were on this occasion stimulated by the suggestions of revenge. At the beginning of the war a regiment of those people had been formed, and transported with the rest of the British troops to Flanders. Before they were embarked a number of them deserted with their arms, on pretence that they had been decoyed into the service by promises and assurances that they should never be sent abroad; and this was really the case. They were overtaken by a body of horse, persuaded to submit, brought back to London pinioned like malefactors, and tried for desertion. Three were shot to death *in terrorem;* and the rest were sent in exile to the plantations. Those who suffered were persons of some consequence in their own country; and their fate was deeply resented by the clans to which they belonged. It was considered as a national outrage; and the Highlanders, who are naturally vindictive, waited impatiently for an opportunity of vengeance.

THE ELDEST SON OF THE CHEVALIER DE ST. GEORGE LANDS IN SCOTLAND.

The young pretender being furnished with a sum of money, and a supply of arms, on his private credit, without the knowledge of the French court, wrote letters to his friends in Scotland, explaining his design and situation, intimating the place where he intended

to land, communicating a private signal, and assuring them he should be with them by the middle of June. These precautions being taken, he embarked on board of a small frigate at Port St. Nazaire, accompanied by the Marquis of Tullibardine, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Sir John Macdonald, with a few other Irish and Scottish adventurers; and setting sail on the fourteenth of July, was joined off Belleisle by the Elizabeth, a French ship of war, mounted with sixty-six guns, as his convoy[d]. Their design was to sail round Ireland, and land in the western part of Scotland; but falling in with the Lion, an English ship of the line, a very obstinate and bloody action ensued. The Elizabeth was so disabled that she could not prosecute the voyage, and with difficulty reached the harbour of Brest; but the Lion was shattered to such a degree, that she floated like a wreck upon the water. The disaster of the Elizabeth was a great misfortune to the adventurer, as by her being disabled he lost a great quantity of arms, and about one hundred able officers, who were embarked on board of her for the benefit of his expedition. Had this ship arrived in Scotland, she could easily have reduced Fort William, situate in the midst of the clans attached to the Stuart family. Such a conquest, by giving a lustre to the prince's arms, would have allured many to his standard, who were indifferent in point of principle, and encouraged a great number of Highlanders to join him, who were restricted by the apprehension, that their wives and families would be subject to insults from the English garrison of this fortress. Prince Charles, in the frigate, continued his course to the western isles of Scotland. After a voyage of eighteen days, he landed on a little island between Barra and South Inst, two of the Hebrides; then he re-embarked, and in a few days

[d] The Elizabeth, a king's ship, was procured as a convoy by the interest of Mr. Walsh, an Irish merchant at Nantes; and on board of her fifty French young gentlemen embarked as volunteers.

arrived at Borodale in Arnsacy, on the confines of Lochnannach, where he was in a little time joined by a considerable number of hardy mountaineers, under their respective chiefs or leaders. On the nineteenth day of August, the Marquis of Tullibardine erected the pretender's standard at Glensinnan. Some of those, however, on whom Charles principally depended now stood aloof, either fluctuating in their principles, astonished at the boldness of the undertaking, or startled at the remonstrances of their friends, who did not fail to represent, in aggravated colours, all the dangers of embarking in such a desperate enterprise. Had the government acted with proper vigour when they received intelligence of his arrival, the adventurer must have been crushed in embryo before any considerable number of his adherents could have been brought together; but the lords of the regency seemed to slight the information, and even to suspect the integrity of those by whom it was conveyed. They were soon convinced of their mistake. Prince Charles, having assembled about twelve hundred men, encamped in the neighbourhood of Fort William; and immediately hostilities were commenced. A handful of Keppoch's clan, commanded by Major Donald Mac Donald, even before they joined the pretender, attacked two companies of new raised soldiers, who, with their officer, were disarmed after an obstinate dispute: another captain of the king's forces, falling into their hands, was courteously dismissed with one of the pretender's manifestos, and a passport for his personal safety. The administration was now effectually alarmed. The lords of the regency issued a proclamation, offering a reward of thirty thousand pounds to any person who should apprehend the prince adventurer. The same price was set upon the head of the Elector of Hanover, in a proclamation published by the pretender. A courier was despatched to Holland to hasten the return of his ma-

jesty, who arrived in England about the latter end of August. A requisition was made of the six thousand Dutch auxiliaries; and several British regiments were recalled from the Netherlands. A loyal address was presented to the king by the city of London; and the merchants of this metropolis resolved to raise two regiments at their own expense. Orders were issued to keep the trained bands in readiness; to array the militia of Westminster; and instructions to the same effect were sent to all the lords-lieutenants of the counties throughout the kingdom. The principal noblemen of the nation made a tender of their services to their sovereign; and some of them received commissions to levy regiments towards the suppression of the rebellion. Bodies of volunteers were incorporated in London, and many other places; associations were formed, large contributions raised in different towns, counties, and communities; and a great number of eminent merchants in London agreed to support the public credit, by receiving, as usual, bank-notes in payment for the purposes of traffic. The protestant clergy of all denominations exerted themselves with extraordinary ardour in preaching against the religion of Rome and the pretender; and the friends of the government were encouraged, animated, and confirmed in their principles, by several spiritual productions published for the occasion.

In a word, the bulk of the nation seemed unanimously bent upon opposing the enterprise of the pretender, who, nevertheless, had already made surprising progress. His arrival in Scotland was no sooner confirmed, than Sir John Cope, who commanded the troops in that kingdom, assembled what force he could bring together, and advanced against the rebels. Understanding, however, that they had taken possession of a strong pass, he changed his route, and proceeded northwards as far as Inverness, leaving the capital and the southern parts of North Britain wholly exposed to

the incursions of the enemy. The Highlanders forthwith marched to Perth, where the Chevalier de St. George was proclaimed King of Great Britain, and the public money seized for his use: the same steps were taken at Dundee and other places. Prince Charles was joined by the nobleman who assumed the title of Duke of Perth, the Viscount Strathallan, Lord Nairn, Lord George Murray, and many persons of distinction, with their followers. The Marquis of Tullibardine, who had accompanied him from France, took possession of Athol, as heir of blood to the titles and estates which his younger brother enjoyed in consequence of his attainder; and met with some success in arming the tenants for the support of that cause which he avowed. The rebel army being considerably augmented, though very ill provided with arms, crossed the Forth in the neighbourhood of Stirling, and advanced towards Edinburgh, where they were joined by Lord Elcho, son of the Earl of Wemys, and other persons of some distinction. On the sixteenth day of September Charles summoned the town to surrender. The inhabitants were divided by faction, and distracted by fear: the place was not in a posture of defence, and the magistrates would not expose the people to the uncertain issue of an assault. Several deputations were sent from the town to the pretender, in order to negotiate terms of capitulation. In the mean time, one of the gates being opened for the admission of a coach, Cameron of Lochiel, one of the most powerful of the highland chiefs, rushed into the place with a party of his men, and secured it without opposition. Next morning the whole rebel army entered, and their prince took possession of the royal palace of Holyrood-house in the suburbs. Then he caused his father to be proclaimed at the market-cross: there also the manifesto was read, in which the Chevalier de St. George declared his son Charles regent of his dominions, promised to dissolve

the union, and redress the grievances of Scotland. His being in possession of the capital encouraged his followers, and added reputation to his arms; but the treasure belonging to the two banks of that kingdom had been previously conveyed into the castle, a strong fortress, with a good garrison, under the command of General Guest, an old officer of experience and capacity.

During these transactions, Sir John Cope marched back from Inverness to Aberdeen, where he embarked with his troops, and on the seventeenth day of September landed at Dunbar, about twenty miles to the eastward of Edinburgh. Here he was joined by two regiments of dragoons, which had retired with precipitation from the capital at the approach of the highland army. With this reinforcement his troops amounted to near three thousand men; and he began his march to Edinburgh, in order to give battle to the enemy. On the twentieth day of the month he encamped in the neighbourhood of Preston Pans, having the village of Tranent in his front, and the sea in his rear. Early next morning he was attacked by the young pretender, at the head of about two thousand four hundred Highlanders half armed, who charged them sword in hand with such impetuosity, that, in less than ten minutes after the battle began, the king's troops were broken and totally routed. The dragoons fled in the utmost confusion at the first onset; the general officers, having made some unsuccessful efforts to rally them, thought proper to consult their own safety by an expeditious retreat towards Coldstream on the Tweed. All the infantry were either killed or taken; and the colours, artillery, tents, baggage, and military chest, fell into the hands of the victor, who returned in triumph to Edinburgh. Never was victory more complete, or obtained at a smaller expense; for not above fifty of the rebels lost their lives in the engagement. Five hundred of the

king's troops were killed on the field of battle, and among these Colonel Gardiner, a gallant officer, who disdained to save his life at the expense of his honour. When abandoned by his own regiment of dragoons, he alighted from his horse, joined the infantry, and fought on foot, until he fell covered with wounds in sight of his own threshold. Prince Charles bore his good fortune with moderation. He prohibited all rejoicings for the victory he had obtained: the wounded soldiers were treated with humanity; and the officers were sent into Fife and Angus, where they were left at liberty on their parole, which the greater part of them shamefully broke in the sequel. From this victory the pretender reaped manifold and important advantages. His followers were armed, his party encouraged, and his enemies intimidated. He was supplied with a train of field-artillery, and a considerable sum of money, and saw himself possessed of all Scotland, except the fortresses, the reduction of which he could not pretend to undertake without proper implements and engineers. After the battle, he was joined by a small detachment from the Highlands; and some chiefs, who had hitherto been on the reserve, began to exert their influence in his favour. But he was not yet in a condition to take advantage of that consternation which his late success had diffused through the kingdom of England.

EFFORTS OF THE FRIENDS OF GOVERNMENT IN SCOTLAND.

Charles continued to reside in the palace of Holyrood-house[e], and took measures for cutting off the

[e] While he resided at Edinburgh, some of the presbyterian clergy continued to preach in the churches of that city, and publicly prayed for King George, without suffering the least punishment or molestation. One minister in particular, of the name of Mac Vicar, being solicited by some Highlanders to pray for their prince, promised to comply with their request, and performed his promise in words to this effect: "And as for the young prince, who is come hither in quest of an earthly crown, grant, O Lord, that he may speedily receive a crown of glory."

communication between the castle and the city. General Guest declared that he would demolish the city, unless the blockade should be raised, so as that provision might be carried into the castle. After having waited the return of an express which he had found means to despatch to court, he began to put his threats into execution by firing upon the town. Some houses were beaten down, and several persons killed even at the market-cross. The citizens, alarmed at this disaster, sent a deputation to the prince, entreating him to raise the blockade; and he complied with their request. He levied a regiment in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood. He imposed taxes; seized the merchandise that was deposited in the king's warehouses at Leith, and other places; and compelled the city of Glasgow to accommodate him with a large sum, to be repaid when the peace of the kingdom should be re-established. The number of his followers daily increased; and he received considerable supplies of money, artillery, and ammunition, by single ships that arrived from France, where his interest seemed to rise in proportion to the success of his arms. The greater and richer part of Scotland was averse to his family and pretensions; but the people were unarmed and undisciplined, consequently passive under his dominion. By this time, however, the prince-pretender was joined by the Earl of Kilmarnock, the Lords Elcho, Balmerino, Ogilvie, Pitsligo; and the eldest son of Lord Lovat had begun to assemble his father's clan, in order to reinforce the victor, whose army lay encamped at Duddingston, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. Kilmarnock and Balmerino were men of broken and desperate fortune: Elcho and Ogilvie were sons to the Earls of Wemys and Airly; so that their influence was far from being extensive. Pitsligo was a nobleman of very amiable character, as well as of great personal interest; and great dependence was placed upon the power

and attachment of Lord Lovat, who had entered into private engagements with the Chevalier de St. George, though he still wore the mask of loyalty to the government, and disavowed the conduct of his son when he declared for the pretender. This old nobleman is the same Simon Fraser whom we have had occasion to mention as a partisan and emissary of the court of St. Germain's, in the year one thousand seven hundred and three. He had renounced his connexions with that family, and in the rebellion immediately after the accession of King George I. approved himself a warm friend to the protestant succession. Since that period he had been induced, by disgust and ambition, to change his principles again, and was in secret an enthusiast in Jacobitism. He had greatly augmented his estate, and obtained a considerable interest in the Highlands, where, however, he was rather dreaded than beloved. He was bold, enterprising, vain, arbitrary, rapacious, cruel, and deceitful; but his character was chiefly marked by a species of low cunning and dissimulation, which, however, overshot his purpose, and contributed to his own ruin. While Charles resided at Edinburgh, the Marquis de Guilles arrived at Montrose, as envoy from the French king, with several officers, some cannon, and a considerable quantity of small arms for the use of that adventurer[f].

PRECAUTIONS TAKEN IN ENGLAND.

While the young pretender endeavoured to improve the advantages he had gained, the ministry of Great Britain took every possible measure to retard his progress. Several powerful chiefs in the Highlands were attached to the government, and exerted themselves in

[f] He solicited, and is said to have obtained of the Chevalier de St. George, the patent of a duke, and a commission for being lord-lieutenant of all the Highlands.

its defence. The Duke of Argyle began to arm his vassals; but not before he had obtained the sanction of the legislature. Twelve hundred men were raised by the Earl of Sutherland: the Lord Rae brought a considerable number to the field: the Grants and Monroes appeared under their respective leaders for the service of his majesty: Sir Alexander Macdonald declared for King George, and the Laird of Macleod sent two thousand hardy islanders from Skie to strengthen the same interest. These gentlemen, though supposed to be otherwise affected, were governed and directed by the advice of Duncan Forbes, president of the college of justice at Edinburgh, a man of extensive knowledge, agreeable manners, and unblemished integrity. He procured commissions for raising twenty independent companies, and some of these he bestowed upon individuals who were either attached by principle, or engaged by promise, to the pretender. He acted with indefatigable zeal for the interest of the reigning family; and greatly injured an opulent fortune in their service. He confirmed several chiefs who began to waver in their principles: some he actually converted by the energy of his arguments, and brought over to the assistance of the government which they had determined to oppose: others he persuaded to remain quiet, without taking any share in the present troubles. Certain it is, this gentleman, by his industry and address, prevented the insurrection of ten thousand Highlanders, who would otherwise have joined the pretender; and, therefore, he may be said to have been one great cause of that adventurer's miscarriage. The Earl of Loudon repaired to Inverness, where he completed his regiment of Highlanders; directed the conduct of the clans who had taken arms in behalf of his majesty; and, by his vigilance, overawed the disaffected chieftains of that country, who had not yet openly engaged in the rebel-

lion. Immediately after the defeat of Cope, six thousand Dutch troops[g] arrived in England, and three battalions of guards, with seven regiments of infantry, were recalled from Flanders, for the defence of the kingdom. They forthwith began their march to the north, under the command of General Wade, who received orders to assemble an army, which proceeded to Newcastle. The Parliament meeting on the sixteenth day of October, his majesty gave them to understand that an unnatural rebellion had broken out in Scotland, towards the suppression of which he craved their advice and assistance. He found both Houses cordial in their addresses, and zealous in their attachment to his person and government. The Commons forthwith suspended the habeas corpus act; and several persons were apprehended on suspicion of treasonable practices. Immediately after the session was opened, the Duke of Cumberland arrived from the Netherlands, and was followed by another detachment of dragoons and infantry. The train-bands of London were reviewed by his majesty; the county regiments were completed; the volunteers in different parts of the kingdom employed themselves industriously in the exercise of arms; and the whole English nation seemed to rise up as one man against this formidable invader. The government being apprehensive of a descent from France, appointed Admiral Vernon to command a squadron in the Downs, to observe the motions of the enemy by sea, especially in the harbours of Dunkirk and Boulogne; and his cruisers took several ships laden with soldiers, officers, and ammunition, destined for the service of the pretender in Scotland.

[g] They were composed of the forces who had been in garrison at Tournay and Dendermonde when those places were taken, and engaged by capitulation that they should not perform any military function before the first day of January, in the year 1747; so they could not have acted in England without the infringement of a solemn treaty.

This enterprising youth, having collected about five thousand men, resolved to make an irruption into England, which he accordingly entered by the west border on the sixth day of November. Carlisle was invested, and in less than three days surrendered: the keys were delivered to him at Brampton, by the mayor and aldermen on their knees. Here he found a considerable quantity of arms: his father was proclaimed King of Great Britain, and himself regent, by the magistrates in their formalities. General Wade being apprised of his progress, decamped from Newcastle, and advanced across the country as far as Hexham, though the fields were covered with snow, and the roads almost impassable. There he received intelligence that Carlisle was reduced, and forthwith returned to his former station. In the mean time, orders were issued for assembling another army in Staffordshire, under the command of Sir John Ligonier. Prince Charles, notwithstanding this formidable opposition, determined to proceed. He had received assurances from France, that a considerable body of troops would be landed on the southern coast of Britain, to make a diversion in his favour; and he never doubted but that he should be joined by all the English malcontents, as soon as he could penetrate into the heart of the kingdom. Leaving a small garrison in the castle of Carlisle, he advanced to Penrith, marching on foot in the highland garb, at the head of his forces; and continued his route through Lancaster and Preston to Manchester, where, on the twenty-ninth day of the month, he established his head-quarters. There he was joined by about two hundred Englishmen, who were formed into a regiment, under the command of Colonel Townley. The inhabitants seemed to receive him with marks of affection, and his arrival was celebrated by illuminations, and other public rejoicings. His supposed intention was to prosecute his march by

the way of Chester into Wales, where he hoped to find a great number of adherents; but all the bridges over the river Mersey being broken down, he chose the route to Stockport, and forded the river at the head of his division, though the water rose to his middle. He passed through Macclesfield and Congleton; and on the fourth day of December entered the town of Derby, in which his army was quartered, and his father proclaimed with great formality. He had now advanced within one hundred miles of the capital, which was filled with terror and confusion. Wade lingered in Yorkshire: the Duke of Cumberland had assumed the command of the other army assembled in the neighbourhood of Lichfield. He had marched from Stafford to Stone; so that the rebels, in turning off from Ashborne to Derby, had gained a march between him and London. Had Charles proceeded in his career with that expedition which he had hitherto used, he might have made himself master of the metropolis, where he would have been certainly joined by a considerable number of his well-wishers, who waited impatiently for his approach: yet this exploit could not have been achieved without hazarding an engagement, and running the risk of being enclosed within three armies, each greatly superior to his own in number and artillery. Orders were given for forming a camp on Finchley-common, where the king resolved to take the field in person, accompanied by the Earl of Stair, field-mareschal, and commander-in-chief of the forces in South Britain. Some Romish priests were apprehended: the militia of London and Middlesex were kept in readiness to march: double watches were posted at the city gates, and signals of alarm appointed. The volunteers of the city were incorporated into a regiment: the practitioners of the law, headed by the judges, weavers of Spital-fields, and other communities, engaged in associations; and even the managers of the theatres

offered to raise a body of their dependents for the service of the government. Notwithstanding these precautions and appearances of unanimity, the trading part of the city, and those concerned in the money corporations, were overwhelmed with fear and dejection. They reposed very little confidence in the courage or discipline of their militia and volunteers: they had received intelligence that the French were employed in making preparations at Dunkirk and Calais for a descent upon England: they dreaded an insurrection of the Roman Catholics, and other friends of the house of Stuart; and they reflected that the Highlanders, of whom by this time they had conceived a most terrible idea, were within four days' march of the capital. Alarmed by these considerations, they prognosticated their own ruin in the approaching revolution; and their countenances exhibited the plainest marks of horror and despair. On the other hand, the Jacobites were elevated to an insolence of hope, which they were at no pains to conceal; while many people, who had no private property to lose, and thought no change would be for the worse, waited the issue of this crisis with the most calm indifference.

THE REBELS RETREAT INTO SCOTLAND.

This state of suspense was of short duration. The young pretender found himself miserably disappointed in his expectations. He had now advanced into the middle of the kingdom, and, except a few that joined him at Manchester, not a soul appeared in his behalf: one would have imagined that all the Jacobites of England had been annihilated. The Welsh took no step to excite an insurrection in his favour; the French made no attempt towards an invasion: his court was divided into factions; the highland chiefs began to murmur, and their clans to be unruly: he saw himself

with a handful of men, hemmed in between two considerable armies, in the middle of winter, and in a country disaffected to his cause. He knew he could not proceed to the metropolis without hazarding a battle, and that a defeat would be attended with the inevitable destruction of himself and all his adherents; and he had received information that his friends and officers had assembled a body of forces in the north, superior in number to those by whom he was attended. He called a council at Derby; and proposed to advance towards London: the proposal was supported by Lord Nairn with great vehemence; but, after violent disputes, the majority determined that they should retreat to Scotland with all possible expedition. Accordingly, they abandoned Derby on the sixth day of December, early in the morning, and measured back the route by which they had advanced. On the ninth their vanguard arrived at Manchester: on the twelfth they entered Preston, and continued their march northwards. The Duke of Cumberland, who was encamped at Meriden, when first apprised of their retreat, detached the horse and dragoons in pursuit of them; while General Wade began his march from Ferrybridge in Lancashire, with a view of intercepting them in their route; but at Wakefield he understood that they had already reached Wigan; he, therefore, repaired to his old post at Newcastle, after having detached General Oglethorpe, with his horse and dragoons, to join those who had been sent off from the duke's army. They pursued with such alacrity, that they overtook the rear of the rebels, with which they skirmished, in Lancashire. The militia of Cumberland and Westmoreland were raised and armed by the duke's order to harass them in their march. The bridges were broken down, the roads damaged, and the beacons lighted to alarm the country. Nevertheless, they retreated regularly with their small train of artillery. They were overtaken at the village of Clifton, in

the neighbourhood of Penrith, by two regiments of dragoons. These alighted, and lined the hedges, in order to harass part of the enemy's rear-guard, commanded by Lord John Murray, who, at the head of the Macphersons, attacked the dragoons sword in hand, and repulsed them with some loss. On the nineteenth day of the month, the highland army reached Carlisle, where the majority of the English in the service of the pretender were left, at their own desire. Charles, having reinforced the garrison of the place, crossed the rivers Eden and Solway into Scotland, having thus accomplished one of the most surprising retreats that ever was performed. But the most remarkable circumstance of this expedition was the moderation and regularity with which those ferocious people conducted themselves in a country abounding with plunder. No violence was offered; no outrage committed; and they were effectually restrained from the exercise of rapine. Notwithstanding the excessive cold, the hunger and fatigue to which they must have been exposed, they left behind no sick, and lost a very few stragglers; but retired with deliberation, and carried off their cannon in the face of their enemy. The Duke of Cumberland invested Carlisle with his whole army on the twenty-first day of December, and on the thirtieth the garrison surrendered on a sort of capitulation made with the Duke of Richmond. The prisoners, amounting to about four hundred, were imprisoned in different gaols in England, and the duke returned to London.

The pretender proceeded by the way of Dumfries to Glasgow, from which last city he exacted severe contributions, on account of its attachment to the government, for whose service it had raised a regiment of nine hundred men under the command of the Earl of Home. Having continued several days at Glasgow, he advanced towards Stirling, and was joined by some forces which had been assembled in his absence by Lords Lewis

Gordon and John Drummond, brothers to the Dukes of Gordon and Perth. This last nobleman had arrived from France in November, with a small reinforcement of French and Irish, and a commission as general of these auxiliaries. He fixed his head-quarters at Perth, where he was reinforced by the Earl of Cromartie, and other clans, to the number of two thousand, and he was accommodated with a small train of artillery. They had found means to surprise a sloop of war at Montrose, with the guns of which they fortified that harbour. They had received a considerable sum of money from Spain. They took possession of Dundee, Dumblaine, Downcastle, and laid Fife under contribution. The Earl of Loudon remained at Inverness, with about two thousand Highlanders in the service of his majesty. He convoyed provisions to Fort Augustus and Fort William; he secured the person of Lord Lovat, who still temporized, and at length this cunning veteran accomplished his escape. The Laird of Macleod, and Mr. Monro of Culcairn, being detached from Inverness towards Aberdeenshire, were surprised and routed by Lord Lewis Gordon at Inverary; and that interest seemed to preponderate in the north of Scotland. Prince Charles being joined by Lord John Drummond, invested the castle of Stirling, in which General Blakeney commanded; but his people were so little used to enterprises of this kind that they made very little progress in their operations.

THE KING'S TROOPS UNDER HAWLEY ARE WORSTED AT FALKIRK.

By this time a considerable body of forces were assembled at Edinburgh, under the conduct of General Hawley, who determined to relieve Stirling castle, and advanced to Linlithgow on the thirteenth day of January: next day his whole army rendezvoused at Falkirk,

while the rebels were cantoned about Bannockburn. On the seventeenth day of the month, they began their march in two columns to attack the king's forces, and had forded the water of Carron, within three miles of Hawley's camp, before he discovered their intention. Such was his obstinacy, self-conceit, or contempt of the enemy, that he slighted the repeated intelligence he had received of their motions and design, firmly believing they durst not hazard an engagement. At length, perceiving they had occupied the rising ground to the southward of Falkirk, he ordered his cavalry to advance, and drive them from the eminence; while his infantry formed, and were drawn up in order of battle. The Highlanders kept up their fire, and took aim so well, that the assailants were broke by the first volley: they retreated with precipitation, and fell in amongst the infantry, which were likewise discomposed by the wind and rain beating with great violence in their faces, wetting their powder, and disturbing their eyesight. Some of the dragoons rallied, and advanced again to the charge, with part of the infantry which had not been engaged: then the pretender marched up at the head of his corps de reserve, consisting of the regiment of Lord John Drummond, and the Irish piquets. These reinforcing the Camerons and the Stuarts in the front line, immediately obliged the dragoons to give way a second time; and they again disordered the foot in their retreat. They set fire to their camp, and abandoned Falkirk with their baggage and train, which last had never reached the field of battle. The rebels followed their first blow, and great part of the royal army, after one irregular discharge, turned their backs, and fled in the utmost consternation. In all probability few or none of them would have escaped, had not General Huske and Brigadier Cholmondeley rallied part of some regiments, and made a gallant stand, which favoured the retreat of the rest to Falkirk, from whence

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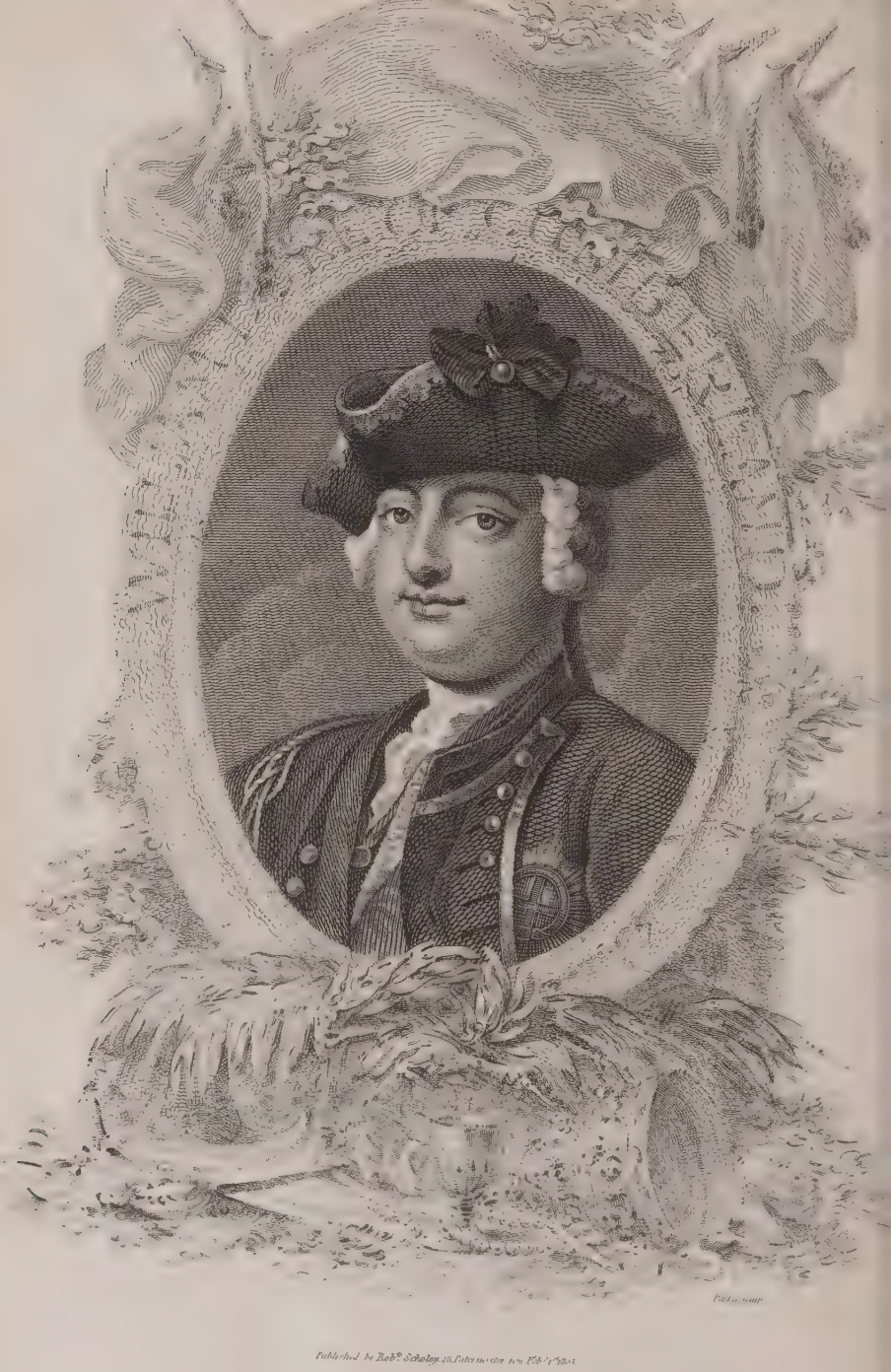

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they retired in confusion to Edinburgh, leaving the field of battle, with part of their tents and artillery, to the rebels: but their loss of men did not exceed three hundred, including Sir Robert Monro, Colonel Whitney, and some other officers of distinction. It was at this period that the officers who had been taken at the battle of Preston Pans, and conveyed to Angus and Fife, finding themselves unguarded, broke their parole, and returned to Edinburgh, on pretence of their having been forcibly released by the inhabitants of those parts[h].

THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND ASSUMES THE COMMAND OF THE ROYAL TROOPS.

General Hawley, who had boasted that, with two regiments of dragoons, he would drive the rebel army from one end of the kingdom to the other, incurred abundance of censure for the disposition he made, as well as for his conduct before and after the action; but he found means to vindicate himself to the satisfaction of his sovereign. Nevertheless, it was judged necessary that the army in Scotland should be commanded by a general in whom the soldiers might have some confidence; and the Duke of Cumberland was chosen for this purpose. Over and above his being beloved by the army, it was suggested that the appearance of a prince of the blood in Scotland might have a favourable effect upon the minds of people in that kingdom; he, therefore, began to prepare for his northern expedition. Meanwhile the French minister at the Hague having represented to the States-General that the auxiliaries which they had sent into Great Britain were part of the garrisons of Tournay and Dendermonde, and restricted by the capitulation from bearing arms against France

[h] Sir Peter Halket, Captain Lucy Scot, Lieutenants Farquharson and Cumming, with a few other gentlemen, adhered punctually to their parole, and their conduct was approved by his majesty.

for a certain term, the states thought proper to recall them, rather than come to an open rupture with his most christian majesty. In the room of those troops, six thousand Hessians were transported from Flanders to Leith, where they arrived in the beginning of February, under the command of their prince, Frederick of Hesse, son-in-law to his Britannic majesty. By this time the Duke of Cumberland had put himself at the head of the troops in Edinburgh, consisting of fourteen battalions of infantry, two regiments of dragoons, and twelve hundred Highlanders from Argyleshire, under the command of Colonel Campbell. On the last day of January his royal highness began his march to Linlithgow; and the enemy, who had renewed the siege of Stirling castle, not only abandoned that enterprise, but crossed the river Forth with precipitation. Their prince found great difficulty in maintaining his forces, that part of the country being quite exhausted. He hoped to be reinforced in the Highlands, and to receive supplies of all kinds from France and Spain; he, therefore, retired by Badenoch towards Inverness, which the Earl of Loudon abandoned at his approach. The fort was surrendered to him almost without opposition, and here he fixed his head-quarters. His next exploit was the siege of Fort Augustus, which he in a little time reduced. The Duke of Cumberland having secured the important posts of Stirling and Perth, with the Hessian battalions, advanced with the army to Aberdeen, where he was joined by the Duke of Gordon, the Earls of Aberdeen and Findlater, the Laird of Grant, and other persons of distinction.

THE REBELS UNDERTAKE THE SIEGE OF FORT WILLIAM.

While he remained in this place, refreshing his troops and preparing magazines, a party of the rebels surprised

a detachment of Kingston's horse, and about seventy Argyleshire Highlanders, at Keith, who were either killed or taken. Several advanced parties of that militia met with the same fate in different places. Lord George Murray invested the castle of Blair, which was defended by Sir Andrew Agnew, until a body of Hessians marched to its relief, and obliged the rebels to retire. The prince pretender ordered all his forces to assemble, in order to begin their march for Aberdeen, to attack the Duke of Cumberland; but, in consequence of a remonstrance from the clans, who declined leaving their families at the mercy of the king's garrison in Fort William, he resolved previously to reduce that fortress, the siege of which was undertaken by Brigadier Stapleton, an engineer in the French service: but the place was so vigorously maintained by Captain Scot, that in the beginning of April they thought proper to relinquish the enterprise. The Earl of Loudon had retired into Sutherland, and taken post at Dornoch, where his quarters were beat up by a strong detachment of the rebels, commanded by the Duke of Perth: a major and sixty men were taken prisoners; and the earl was obliged to take shelter in the isle of Skye. These little checks were counterbalanced by some advantages which his majesty's arms obtained. The sloop of war which the rebels had surprised at Montrose was retaken in Sutherland, with a considerable sum of money, and a great quantity of arms on board, which she had brought from France for the use of the pretender. In the same county the Earl of Cromartie fell into an ambuscade, and was taken by the militia of Sutherland, who likewise defeated a body of the rebels at Goldspie. This action happened on the very day which has been rendered famous by the victory obtained at Culloden.

CHAPTER XX.

The Rebels are totally defeated at Culloden.—The Duke of Cumberland takes Possession of Inverness, and afterwards encamps at Fort Augustus.—The Prince Pretender escapes to France.—Convulsion in the Ministry.—Liberality of the Commons.—Trial of the Rebels.—Kilmarnock, Balmerino, Lovat, and Mr. Ratcliff, are beheaded on Tower-hill.—The States-General alarmed at the Progress of the French in the Netherlands.—Count Saxe subdues all Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault.—Reduces the strong Fortress of Namur, and defeats the allied Army at Roucoux.——The French and Spaniards are compelled to abandon Piedmont and the Milanese —Don Philip is worsted at Codogno, and afterwards at Porto Freddo.—The Austrians take Possession of Genoa.—Count Brown penetrates into Provence.—The Genoese expel the Austrians from their City.—Madras in the East Indies taken by the French.—Expedition to the Coast of Bretagne, and Attempt upon Port L'Orient.—Naval Transactions in the West Indies. Conferences at Breda.—Vast Supplies granted by the Commons of England.—Parliament dissolved.—The French and Allies take the Field in Flanders.—The Prince of Orange elected Stadtholder, Captain-General, and Admiral of the United Provinces.—The Confederates defeated at Laffeldt —Siege of Bergen-op-Zoom.—The Austrians undertake the Siege of Genoa, which, however, they abandon.—The Chevalier de Belleisle slain in the Attack of Exiles.—A French Squadron defeated and taken by the Admirals Anson and Warren.—Admiral Hawke obtains another Victory over the French at Sea.—Other Naval Transactions.—Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle.—Compliant Temper of the new Parliament.—Preliminaries signed.—Preparations for the Campaign in the Netherlands.—Siege of Maestricht.—Cessation of Arms.—Transactions in the East and West Indies.—Conclusion of the definitive Treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle.

THE REBELS ARE TOTALLY DEFEATED AT CULLODEN.

In the beginning of April the Duke of Cumberland began his march from Aberdeen, and on the twelfth

CHAP. IX.

But, understanding his disguise was discovered, he assumed the habit of a travelling mountaineer, and wandered about among the woods and heaths, with a matted beard and squalid looks, exposed to hunger, thirst, and weariness, and in continual danger of being apprehended.

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passed the deep and rapid river Spey, without opposition from the rebels, though a detachment of them appeared on the opposite side. Why they did not dispute the passage is not easy to be conceived; but, indeed, from this instance of neglect, and their subsequent conduct, we may conclude they were under a total infatuation. His royal highness proceeded to Nairn, where he received intelligence that the enemy had advanced from Inverness to Culloden, about the distance of nine miles from the royal army, with intention to give him battle. The design of Charles was to march in the night from Culloden, and surprise the duke's army at daybreak: for this purpose the English camp had been reconnoitred; and on the night of the fifteenth the highland army began to march in two columns. Their design was to surround the enemy, and attack them at once on all quarters; but the length of the columns embarrassed the march, so that the army was obliged to make many halts: the men had been under arms during the whole preceding night, were faint with hunger and fatigue, and many of them overpowered with sleep. Some were unable to proceed; others dropped off unperceived in the dark; and the march was retarded in such a manner that it would have been impossible to reach the duke's camp before sunrise. The design being thus frustrated, the prince pretender was with great reluctance prevailed upon by his general officers to measure back his way to Culloden: at which place he had no sooner arrived, than great numbers of his followers dispersed in quest of provision; and many, overcome with weariness and sleep, threw themselves down on the heath, and along the park walls. Their repose, however, was soon interrupted in a very disagreeable manner. Their prince, receiving intelligence that his enemies were in full march to attack him, resolved to hazard an engagement, and ordered his troops to be formed for that purpose. On the sixteenth day

of April, the Duke of Cumberland, having made the proper dispositions, decamped from Nairn early in the morning, and after a march of nine miles perceived the Highlanders drawn up in order of battle, to the number of four thousand men, in thirteen divisions, supplied with some pieces of artillery. The royal army, which was much more numerous, the duke immediately formed into three lines, disposed in excellent order; and about one o'clock in the afternoon the cannonading began. The artillery of the rebels was ill served, and did very little execution; but that of the king's troops made dreadful havoc among the enemy. Impatient of this fire, their front line advanced to the attack, and about five hundred of the clans charged the duke's left wing with their usual impetuosity. One regiment was disordered by the weight of this column; but two battalions advancing from the second line, sustained the first, and soon put a stop to their career, by a severe fire, that killed a great number. At the same time, the dragoons under Hawley, and the Argyleshire militia, pulled down a park wall that covered their right flank, and the cavalry falling in among the rebels sword in hand completed their confusion. The French piquets on their left covered the retreat of the Highlanders by a close and regular fire; and then retired to Inverness, where they surrendered themselves prisoners of war. An entire body of the rebels marched off the field in order, with their pipes playing, and the pretender's standard displayed; the rest were routed with great slaughter; and their prince was with reluctance prevailed upon to retire. In less than thirty minutes they were totally defeated, and the field covered with the slain. The road, as far as Inverness, was strewed with dead bodies; and a great number of people, who, from motives of curiosity, had come to see the battle, were sacrificed to the undistinguishing vengeance of the victors. Twelve hundred rebels were slain or wounded

on the field, and in the pursuit. The Earl of Kilmarnock was taken; and in a few days Lord Balmerino surrendered to a country gentleman, at whose house he presented himself for this purpose. The glory of the victory was sullied by the barbarity of the soldiers. They had been provoked by their former disgraces to the most savage thirst of revenge. Not contented with the blood which was so profusely shed in the heat of action, they traversed the field after the battle, and massacred those miserable wretches who lay maimed and expiring: nay, some officers acted a part in this cruel scene of assassination, the triumph of low illiberal minds, uninspired by sentiment, untinctured by humanity. The vanquished adventurer rode off the field, accompanied by the Duke of Perth, Lord Elcho, and a few horsemen; he crossed the water of Nairn, and retired to the house of a gentleman in Stratharick, where he conferred with old Lord Lovat; then he dismissed his followers, and wandered about, a wretched and solitary fugitive, among the isles and mountains for the space of five months, during which he underwent such a series of dangers, hardships, and misery, as no other person ever outlived. Thus, in one short hour all his hope vanished, and the rebellion was entirely extinguished. One would almost imagine the conductors of this desperate enterprise had conspired their own destruction, as they certainly neglected every step that might have contributed to their safety or success. They might have opposed the Duke of Cumberland at the passage of the Spey; they might, by proper conduct, have afterwards attacked his camp in the night, with a good prospect of success. As they were greatly inferior to him in number, and weakened with hunger and fatigue, they might have retired to the hills and fastnesses, where they would have found plenty of live cattle for provision, recruited their regiments, and been joined by a strong reinforcement, which was actually in full

march to their assistance. But they were distracted by dissensions and jealousies: they obeyed the dictates of despair, and wilfully devoted themselves to ruin and death. When the news of the battle arrived in England, the nation was transported with joy, and extolled the Duke of Cumberland as a hero and deliverer. Both Houses of Parliament congratulated his majesty on the auspicious event. They decreed, in the most solemn manner, their public thanks to his royal highness, which were transmitted to him by the speakers; and the Commons, by bill, added five-and-twenty thousand pounds per annum to his former revenue.

THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND TAKES POSSESSION OF INVERNESS.

Immediately after the decisive action at Culloden, the duke took possession of Inverness, where six-and-thirty deserters, convicted by a court-martial, were ordered to be executed; then he detached several parties to ravage the country. One of these apprehended the Lady Mackintosh, who was sent prisoner to Inverness. They did not plunder her house, but drove away her cattle, though her husband was actually in the service of government. The castle of Lord Lovat was destroyed. The French prisoners were sent to Carlisle and Penrith: Kilmarnock, Balmerino, Cromartie, and his son, the Lord Macleod, were conveyed by sea to London; and those of an inferior rank were confined in different prisons. The Marquis of Tullibardine, together with a brother of the Earl of Dunmore, were seized and transported to the Tower of London, to which the Earl of Traquire had been committed on suspicion: in a few months after the battle of Culloden, Murray, the pretender's secretary, was apprehended; and the eldest son of Lord Lovat having surrendered himself, was imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh.

George the Second.

Chap. IX.

At length a privateer of St. Malo, hired by young Sheridan and some other adherents, arrived in Lochnannach; and, on the twentieth day of September, this unfortunate prince (the Pretender) embarked in the habit which he wore for disguise. His eye was hollow, his visage wan, and his constitution greatly impaired by famine and fatigue.

In a word, all the gaols of Great Britain, from the capital northwards, were filled with those unfortunate captives; and great numbers of them were crowded together in the holds of ships, where they perished in the most deplorable manner, for want of necessaries, air, and exercise. Some rebel chiefs escaped in two French frigates, which had arrived on the coast of Lochaber about the end of April, and engaged three vessels belonging to his Britannic majesty, which they obliged to retire. Others embarked on board of a ship on the coast of Buchan, and were conveyed to Norway; from thence they travelled to Sweden. In the month of May, the Duke of Cumberland advanced with the army into the Highlands, as far as Fort Augustus, where he encamped; and sent off detachments on all hands, to hunt down the fugitives, and lay waste the country with fire and sword. The castles of Glengary and Lochiel were plundered and burned; every house, hut, or habitation, met with the same fate, without distinction: all the cattle and provision were carried off: the men were either shot upon the mountains, like wild beasts, or put to death in cold blood, without form of trial: the women, after having seen their husbands and fathers murdered, were subjected to brutal violation, and then turned out naked, with their children, to starve on the barren heaths. One whole family was enclosed in a barn, and consumed to ashes. Those ministers of vengeance were so alert in the execution of their office, that in a few days there was neither house, cottage, man, nor beast, to be seen in the compass of fifty miles: all was ruin, silence, and desolation.

THE PRINCE PRETENDER ESCAPES TO FRANCE.

The humane reader cannot reflect upon such a scene without grief and horror: what then must have been the

sensation of the fugitive prince, when he beheld these spectacles of woe, the dismal fruit of his ambition? He was now surrounded by armed troops, that chased him from hill to dale, from rock to cavern, and from shore to shore. Sometimes he lurked in caves and cottages, without attendants, or any other support but that which the poorest peasant could supply. Sometimes he was rowed in fisher-boats from isle to isle, among the Hebrides, and often in sight of his pursuers. For some days he appeared in woman's attire, and even passed through the midst of his enemies unknown. But, understanding his disguise was discovered, he assumed the habit of a travelling mountaineer, and wandered about among the woods and heaths, with a matted beard and squalid looks, exposed to hunger, thirst, and weariness, and in continual danger of being apprehended. He was obliged to trust his life to the fidelity of above fifty individuals, and many of these were in the lowest paths of fortune. They knew that a price of thirty thousand pounds was set upon his head; and that, by betraying him, they should enjoy wealth and affluence: but they detested the thought of obtaining riches on such infamous terms, and ministered to his necessities, with the utmost zeal and fidelity, even at the hazard of their own destruction. In the course of these peregrinations, he was more than once hemmed in by his pursuers, in such a manner as seemed to preclude all possibility of escaping; yet he was never abandoned by his hope and recollection: he still found some expedient that saved him from captivity and death; and through the whole course of his distresses maintained the most amazing equanimity and good humour. At length a privateer of St. Malo, hired by the young Sheridan and some other Irish adherents, arrived in Lochrannoch; and on the twentieth day of September this unfortunate prince embarked in the habit which he wore for disguise. His eye was hollow, his visage wan, and his constitution

greatly impaired by famine and fatigue. He was accompanied by Cameron of Lochiel and his brother, with a few other exiles. They set sail for France, and after having passed unseen, by means of a thick fog, through a British squadron, commanded by Admiral Lestock, and been chased by two English ships of war, arrived in safety at Roscau, near Morlaix, in Bretagne. Perhaps he would have found it still more difficult to escape, had not the vigilance and eagerness of the government been relaxed, in consequence of a report that he had already fallen among some persons that were slain by a volley from one of the duke's detachments.

CONVULSION IN THE MINISTRY.

Having thus explained the rise, progress, and extinction of the rebellion, it will be necessary to take a retrospective view of the proceedings in Parliament. The necessary steps being taken for quieting the intestine commotions of the kingdom, the two Houses began to convert their attention to the affairs of the Continent. On the fourteenth day of January the king repaired to the House of Peers, and, in a speech from the throne, gave his Parliament to understand, that the States-General had made pressing instances for his assistance in the present conjuncture, when they were in such danger of being oppressed by the power of France in the Netherlands; that he had promised to co-operate with them towards opposing the further progress of their enemies; and even concerted measures for that purpose. He declared it was with regret that he asked any further aids of his people: he exhorted them to watch over the public credit; and expressed his entire dependence on their zeal and unanimity. He was favoured with loyal addresses, couched in the warmest terms of duty and affection: but the supplies were retarded by new convulsions in the ministry. The Earl of Granville

had made an effort to retrieve his influence in the cabinet, and his sovereign favoured his pretensions. The two brothers, who knew his aspiring genius, and dreaded his superior talents, refused to admit such a colleague into the administration; they even resolved to strengthen their party, by introducing fresh auxiliaries into the offices of state. Some of these were personally disagreeable to his majesty, who accordingly rejected the suit by which they were recommended. The Duke of Newcastle and his brother, with all their adherents, immediately resigned their employments. The Earl of Granville was appointed secretary of state, and resumed the reins of administration; but finding himself unequal to the accumulated opposition that preponderated against him; foreseeing that he should not be able to secure the supplies in Parliament; and dreading the consequences of that confusion which his restoration had already produced, he, in three days, voluntarily quitted the helm; and his majesty acquiesced in the measures proposed by the opposite party. The seals were re-delivered to the Duke of Newcastle and the Earl of Harrington: Mr. Pelham, and all the rest who had resigned, were reinstated in their respective employments; and offices were conferred on several individuals who had never before been in the service of the government. William Pitt, Esq. was appointed vice-treasurer of Ireland, and soon promoted to the place of paymaster-general of the forces; at the same time the king declared him a privy-counsellor. This gentleman had been originally designed for the army, in which he actually bore a commission; but fate reserved him a more important station. In point of fortune he was barely qualified to be elected member of Parliament, when he obtained a seat in the House of Commons, where he soon outshone all his compatriots. He displayed a surprising extent and precision of political knowledge, an irresistible energy of argument, and such power of elocution as struck his

hearers with astonishment and admiration. It flashed like the lightning of heaven against the ministers and sons of corruption, blasting where it smote, and withering the nerves of opposition: but his more substantial praise was founded upon his disinterested integrity, his incorruptible heart, his unconquerable spirit of independence, and his invariable attachment to the interest and liberty of his country.

The quiet of the ministry being re-established, the House of Commons provided for forty thousand seamen, nearly the same number of land forces, besides fifteen regiments raised by the nobility, on account of the rebellion, and about twelve thousand marines. They settled funds for the maintenance of the Dutch and Hessian troops that were in England, as well as for the subsidy to the landgrave. They granted three hundred thousand pounds to the King of Sardinia; four hundred thousand pounds to the Queen of Hungary; three hundred and ten thousand pounds to defray the expense of eighteen thousand Hanoverians; about three-and-thirty thousand pounds in subsidies to the Electors of Mentz and Cologne; and five hundred thousand pounds in a vote of credit and confidence to his majesty. The whole charge of the current year amounted to seven millions two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which was raised by the land and malt-taxes, annuities on the additional duties imposed on glass, and spirituous liquors, a lottery, a deduction from the sinking fund, and exchequer bills, chargeable on the first aids that should be granted in the next session of Parliament.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE REBELS.

The rebellion being quelled, the legislature resolved to make examples of those who had been concerned in disturbing the peace of their country. In June, an act of attainder was passed against the principal persons

who had embarked in that desperate undertaking; and courts were opened in different parts of England for the trial of the prisoners. Seventeen persons who had borne arms in the rebel army were executed at Kennington-common, in the neighbourhood of London, and suffered with great constancy under the dreadful tortures which their sentence prescribed: nine were put to death, in the same manner, at Carlisle; six at Brompton, seven at Penrith, eleven at York: of these a considerable number were gentlemen, and had acted as officers; about fifty had been executed as deserters in different parts of Scotland; eighty-one suffered the pains of the law as traitors. A few obtained pardons, and a considerable number were transported to the plantations. Bills of indictment for high-treason were found by the county of Surry against the Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and Lord Balmerino. These noblemen were tried by their Peers in Westminster-hall, the lord chancellor presiding as lord high steward for the occasion. The two earls confessed their crimes, and in pathetic speeches recommended themselves to his majesty's mercy. Lord Balmerino pleaded not guilty: he denied his having been at Carlisle at the time specified in the indictment, but this exception was overruled: then he moved a point of law in arrest of judgment, and was allowed to be heard by his counsel. They might have expatiated on the hardship of being tried by an *ex post facto* law, and claimed the privilege of trial in the county where the act of treason was said to have been committed. The same hardship was imposed upon all the imprisoned rebels: they were dragged in captivity to a strange country, far from their friends and connexions, destitute of means to produce evidence in their favour, even if they had been innocent of the charge. Balmerino waved this plea, and submitted to the court, which pronounced sentence of death upon him and his two associates. Cromartie's life was spared;

but the other two were beheaded, in the month of August, on Tower-hill. Kilmarnock was a nobleman of fine personal accomplishments: he had been educated in revolution principles, and engaged in the rebellion, partly from the desperate situation of his fortune, and partly from resentment to the government, on his being deprived of a pension which he had for some time enjoyed. He was convinced of his having acted criminally, and died with marks of penitence and contrition. Balmerino had been bred up to arms, and acted upon principle: he was gallant, brave, rough, and resolute; he eyed the implements of death with the most careless familiarity, and seemed to triumph in his sufferings. In November, Mr. Radcliffe, the titular Earl of Derwentwater, who had been taken in a ship bound to Scotland, was arraigned on a former sentence, passed against him in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen: he refused to acknowledge the authority of the court, and pleaded that he was a subject of France, honoured with a commission in the service of his most christian majesty. The identity of his person being proved, a rule was made for his execution; and on the eighth day of December he suffered decapitation, with the most perfect composure and serenity. Lord Lovat, now turned of fourscore, was impeached by the Commons, and tried in Westminster-hall before the lord high steward. John Murray, secretary to the prince pretender, and some of his own domestics, appearing against him, he was convicted of high-treason, and condemned. Notwithstanding his age, infirmities, and the recollection of his conscience, which was supposed to be not altogether void of offence, he died like an old Roman, exclaiming, "*dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.*" He surveyed the crowd with attention, examined the axe, jested with the executioner, and laid his head upon the block with the utmost indifference. From this last scene of his life, one would have con-

cluded that he had approved himself a patriot from his youth, and never deviated from the paths of virtue.

THE STATES-GENERAL ALARMED AT THE PROGRESS OF THE FRENCH.

The flame of war on the Continent did not expire at the election of an emperor, and the re-establishment of peace among the princes of the empire. On the contrary, it raged with double violence in consequence of these events; for the force that was before divided being now united in one body, exerted itself with great vigour and rapidity. The States-General were overwhelmed with consternation. Notwithstanding the pains they had taken to avoid a war, and the condescension with which they had soothed and supplicated the French monarch in repeated embassies and memorials, they saw themselves stripped of their barrier, and once more in danger of being overwhelmed by that ambitious nation. The city of Brussels had been reduced during the winter; so that the enemy were in possession of all the Austrian Netherlands, except a few fortresses. Great part of the forces belonging to the republic were restricted from action by capitulations, to which they had subscribed. The states were divided in their councils between the two factions which had long subsisted. They trembled at the prospect of seeing Zealand invaded in the spring. The Orange party loudly called for an augmentation of their forces by sea and land, that they might prosecute the war with vigour. The common people, fond of novelty, dazzled by the splendour of greatness, and fully persuaded that nothing but a chief was wanting to their security, demanded the Prince of Orange as their stadtholder; and even mingled menaces with their demands. The opposite faction dreaded alike the power of a stadtholder, the neighbourhood of a French army, and the

seditious disposition of the populace. An ambassador was sent to London with representations of the imminent dangers which threatened the republic, and he was ordered to solicit in the most pressing terms the assistance of his Britannic majesty, that the allies might have a superiority in the Netherlands by the beginning of the campaign. The king was very well disposed to comply with their request; but the rebellion in his kingdom, and the dissensions in his cabinet, had retarded the supplies, and embarrassed him so much, that he found it impossible to make those early preparations that were necessary to check the career of the enemy.

COUNT SAXE SUBDUES ALL FLANDERS, BRABANT, AND HAINAULT.

The King of France, with his general, the Count de Saxe, took the field in the latter end of April, at the head of one hundred and twenty thousand men, and advanced towards the allies, who, to the number of four-and-forty thousand, were intrenched behind the Demer, under the conduct of the Austrian general Bathiani, who retired before them, and took post in the neighbourhood of Breda, the capital of Dutch Brabant. Mareschal Saxe immediately invested Antwerp, which in a few days was surrendered. Then he appeared before the strong town of Mons in Hainault, with an irresistible train of artillery, an immense quantity of bombs and warlike implements. He carried on his approaches with such unabating impetuosity, that, notwithstanding a very vigorous defence, the garrison was obliged to capitulate on the twenty-seventh day of June, in about eight-and-twenty days after the place had been invested. Sieges were not now carried on by the tedious method of sapping. The French king found it much more expeditious and effectual to bring into the field a prodigious train of battering cannon and enor-

mous mortars, that kept up such a fire as no garrison could sustain, and discharged such an incessant hail of bombs and bullets, as in a very little time reduced to ruins the place, with all its fortifications. St. Guislain and Charleroy met with the fate of Mons and Antwerp; so that by the middle of July the French king was absolute master of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault.

Prince Charles of Lorraine had by this time assumed the command of the confederate army at Terheyde, which, being reinforced by the Hessian troops from Scotland, and a fresh body of Austrians under Count Palfi, amounted to eighty-seven thousand men, including the Dutch forces commanded by the Prince of Waldeck. The generals, supposing the next storm would fall upon Namur, marched towards that place, and took post in an advantageous situation on the eighteenth day of July, in sight of the French army, which was encamped at Gemblours. Here they remained till the eighth day of August, when a detachment of the enemy, commanded by Count Lowendahl, took possession of Huy, where he found a large magazine belonging to the confederates; and their communication with Maestricht was cut off. Mareschal Saxe, on the other side, took his measures so well that they were utterly deprived of all subsistence. Then Prince Charles, retiring across the Maese, abandoned Namur to the efforts of the enemy, by whom it was immediately invested. The trenches were opened on the second day of September; and the garrison, consisting of seven thousand Austrians, defended themselves with equal skill and resolution: but the cannonading and bombardment were so terrible, that in a few days the place was converted into a heap of rubbish; and on the twenty-third day of the month the French monarch took possession of this strong fortress, which had formerly sustained such dreadful attacks. Meanwhile the allied army encamped at Maestricht were joined by Sir John

Ligonier, with some British and Bavarian battalions; and Prince Charles resolved to give the enemy battle. With this view he passed the Maese on the thirteenth day of September, and advanced towards Mareschal Saxe, whom he found so advantageously posted at Tongres, that he thought proper to march back to Maestricht. On the twenty-sixth day of September he crossed the Jaar in his retreat; and his rear was attacked by the enemy, who were repulsed. But Count Saxe being reinforced by a body of troops, under the Count de Clermont, determined to bring the confederates to an engagement. On the thirteenth day of the month he passed the Jaar: while he took possession of the villages of Liers, Warem, and Roucoux, they drew up their forces in order of battle, and made preparations for giving him a warm reception. On the first day of October the enemy advanced in three columns; and a terrible cannonading began about noon. At two o'clock Prince Waldeck on the left was charged with great fury; and after an obstinate defence overpowered by numbers. The villages were attacked in columns, and as one brigade was repulsed another succeeded; so that the allies were obliged to abandon these posts, and retreat towards Maestricht, with the loss of five thousand men, and thirty pieces of artillery. The victory, however, cost the French general a much greater number of lives; and was attended with no solid advantage. Sir John Ligonier, the Earls of Crawford[a] and Rothes, Brigadier Douglas, and other officers of the British troops, distinguished themselves by their gallantry and conduct on this occasion. This action terminated the campaign. The allies passing the Maese, took up their winter quarters in the duchies of Limburgh and Luxemburgh; while the French cantoned their troops in the places which they had newly conquered.

[a] See note [G], vol. vi.

THE FRENCH AND SPANIARDS ABANDON PIEDMONT AND THE MILANESE.

The campaign in Italy was altogether unfavourable to the French and Spaniards. The house of Austria being no longer pressed on the side of Germany, was enabled to make the stronger efforts in this country; and the British subsidy encouraged the King of Sardinia to act with redoubled vivacity. Mareschal Maillebois occupied the greater part of Piedmont with about thirty thousand men. Don Philip and the Count de Gages were at the head of a greater number in the neighbourhood of Milan; and the Duke of Modena, with eight thousand, secured his own dominions. The King of Sardinia augmented his forces to six-and-thirty thousand; and the Austrian army, under the Prince of Lichtenstein, amounted to a much greater number; so that the enemy were reduced to the necessity of acting on the defensive, and retired towards the Mantuan. In February, Baron Leutrum, the Piedmontese general, invested and took the strong fortress of Aste. He afterwards relieved the citadel of Alexandria, which the Spaniards had blocked up in the winter, reduced Casal, recovered Valencia, and obliged Maillebois to retire to the neighbourhood of Genoa. On the other side, Don Philip and Count Gages abandoned Milan, Pavia, and Parma, retreating before the Austrians with the utmost precipitation to Placentia, where they were joined on the third of June by the French forces under Maillebois.

Before this junction was effected, the Spanish general, Pignatelli, had passed the river Po in the night with a strong detachment, and beaten up the quarters of seven thousand Austrians posted at Codogno. Don Philip, finding himself at the head of two-and-fifty thousand men by his junction with the French general, resolved to attack the Austrians in their camp at San Lazaro,

before they should be reinforced by his Sardinian majesty. Accordingly, on the fourth day of June, in the evening, he marched with equal silence and expedition, and entered the Austrian trenches about eleven, when a desperate battle ensued. The Austrians were prepared for the attack, which they sustained with great vigour till morning. Then they quitted their intrenchments, and charged the enemy in their turn with such fury, that after an obstinate resistance the combined army was broke, and retired with precipitation to Placentia, leaving on the field fifteen thousand men killed, wounded, and taken, together with sixty colours, and ten pieces of artillery. In a few weeks the Austrians were joined by the Piedmontese: the King of Sardinia assumed the chief command; and Prince Lichtenstein being indisposed, his place was supplied by the Marquis de Botta. Don Philip retired to the other side of the Po, and extended his conquests in the open country of the Milanese. The King of Sardinia called a council of war, in which it was determined that he should pass the river with a strong body of troops, in order to straiten the enemy on one side; while the Marquis de Botta should march up the Tydone, to cut off their communication with Placentia. They forthwith quitted all the posts they had occupied between the Lambro and Adda, resolving to repass the Po, and retreat to Tortona. With this view they threw bridges of boats over that river, and began to pass on the ninth day of August, in the evening. They were attacked at Rotto Freddo by a detachment of Austrians, under General Serbelloni, who maintained the engagement till ten in the morning, when Botta arrived: the battle was renewed with redoubled rage, and lasted till four in the afternoon, when the enemy retired in great disorder to Tortona, with the loss of eight thousand men, a good number of colours and standards, and eighteen pieces of cannon. This victory cost the Austrians four thousand men

killed upon the spot, including the gallant General Bernclau. The victors immediately summoned Placentia to surrender; and the garrison, consisting of nine thousand men, were made prisoners of war: Don Philip continued his retreat, and of all his forces brought six-and-twenty thousand only into the territories of Genoa.

THE AUSTRIANS TAKE POSSESSION OF GENOA. COUNT BROWN ENTERS PROVENCE.

The Piedmontese and Austrians rejoining in the neighbourhood of Pavia, advanced to Tortona, of which they took possession without resistance, while the enemy sheltered themselves under the cannon of Genoa. They did not long continue in this situation; for on the twenty-second day of August they were again in motion, and retired into Provence. The court of Madrid imputing the bad success of this campaign to the misconduct of Count Gages, recalled that general, and sent the Marquis de las Minas to resume the command of the forces. In the mean time, the victorious confederates appeared before Genoa on the fourth day of December; and the senate of that city thinking it incapable of defence, submitted to a very mortifying capitulation, by which the gates were delivered up to the Austrians, together with all their arms, artillery, and ammunition; and the city was subjected to the most cruel contributions. The Marquis de Botta being left at Genoa with sixteen thousand men, the King of Sardinia resolved to pass the Var, and pursue the French and Spaniards into Provence; but, that monarch being seized with the small-pox, the conduct of this expedition was intrusted to Count Brown, an Austrian general of Irish extract, who had given repeated proofs of uncommon valour and capacity. He was on this occasion assisted by Vice-Admiral Medley, who com-

manded the British squadron in the Mediterranean. The French forces had fortified the passes of the Var, under the conduct of the Mareschal de Belleisle, who thought proper to abandon his posts at the approach of Count Brown; and this general, at the head of fifty thousand men, passed the river, without opposition, on the ninth day of November. While he advanced as far as Draguignan, laying the open country under contribution, Baron Roth, with four-and-twenty battalions, invested Antibes, which was at the same time bombarded on the side of the sea by the British squadron. The trenches were opened on the twentieth day of September; but Belleisle having assembled a numerous army, superior to that of the confederates, and the Genoese having expelled their Austrian guests, Count Brown abandoned the enterprise, and repassed the Var, not without some damage from the enemy.

THE GENOESE EXPEL THE AUSTRIANS FROM THEIR CITY.

The court of Vienna, which has always patronised oppression, exacted such heavy contributions from the Genoese, and its exactions were so rigorously put into execution, that the people were reduced to despair; and resolved to make a last effort for the recovery of their liberty and independence. Accordingly, they took arms in secret, seized several important posts of the city; surprised some battalions of the Austrians; surrounded others, and cut them in pieces; and, in a word, drove them out with great slaughter. The Marquis de Botta acted with caution and spirit; but being overpowered by numbers, and apprehensive of the peasants in the country, who were in arms, he retreated to the pass of the Brochetta on the side of Lombardy, where he secured himself in an advantageous situation, until he could receive reinforcements. The loss he had sus-

tained at Genoa did not hinder him from reducing Savona, a sea-port town belonging to that republic; and he afterwards made himself master of Gavi. The Genoese, on the contrary, exerted themselves with wonderful industry in fortifying their city, raising troops, and in taking other measures for a vigorous defence, in case they should again be insulted.

MADRAS IN THE EAST INDIES TAKEN BY THE FRENCH.

The naval transactions of this year reflected very little honour on the British nation. Commodore Peyton, who commanded six ships of war in the East Indies, shamefully declined a decisive engagement with a French squadron of inferior force; and abandoned the important settlement of Madras, on the coast of Coromandel, which was taken without opposition in the month of September by the French commodore, De la Bourdonnais. Fort St. David, and the other British factories in India, would probably have shared the same fate, had not the enemy's naval force in that country been shattered and partly destroyed by a terrible tempest. No event of consequence happened in America, though it was a scene that seemed to promise the greatest success to the arms of England. The reduction of Cape Breton had encouraged the ministry to project the conquest of Quebec, the capital of Canada, situated upon the river St. Lawrence. Commissions were sent to the governors of the British colonies in North America, empowering them to raise companies to join the armament from England; and eight thousand troops were actually raised in consequence of these directions; while a powerful squadron and transports, having six regiments on board, were prepared at Portsmouth for this expedition. But their departure was postponed by unaccountable delays, until the season was judged too far

advanced to risk the great ships on the boisterous coast of North America. That the armament, however, might not be wholly useless to the nation, it was employed in making a descent upon the coast of Bretagne, on the supposition that Port L'Orient, the repository of all the stores and ships belonging to the French East India company, might be surprised; or, that this invasion would alarm the enemy, and, by making a diversion, facilitate the operations of the Austrian general in Provence.

The naval force intended for the service consisted of sixteen great ships, and eight frigates, besides bomb-ketches and store-ships, commanded by Richard Lestock, appointed admiral of the blue division. Six battalions of land troops, with a detachment of matrosses and bombardiers, were embarked in thirty transports, under the conduct of Lieutenant-General Sinclair; and the whole fleet set sail from Plymouth on the fourteenth day of September. On the twentieth the troops were landed in Quimperlay-bay, at the distance of ten miles from Port L'Orient. The militia, reinforced by some detachments from different regiments, were assembled to the number of two thousand, and seemed resolved to oppose the disembarkation; but, seeing the British troops determined to land at all events, they thought proper to retire. Next day General Sinclair advanced into the country, skirmishing with the enemy in his route; and arriving at the village of Plemure, within half a league from Port L'Orient, summoned that place to surrender. He was visited by a deputation from the town, which offered to admit the British forces, on condition that they should be restrained from pillaging the inhabitants, and touching the magazines; and that they should pay a just price for their provisions. These terms being rejected, the inhabitants prepared for a vigorous defence; and the English general resolved to besiege the place in form, though he had neither time,

artillery, nor forces sufficient for such an enterprise. This strange resolution was owing to the declaration of the engineers, who promised to lay the place in ashes in the space of four-and-twenty hours. All his cannon amounted to no more than a few field-pieces; and he was obliged to wait for two iron guns, which the sailors dragged up from the shipping. Had he given the assault on the first night after his arrival, when the town was filled with terror and confusion, and destitute of regular troops, in all probability it would have been easily taken by scalade; but the reduction of it was rendered impracticable by his delay. The ramparts were mounted with cannon from the ships in the harbour; new works were raised with great industry; the garrison was reinforced by several bodies of regular troops; and great numbers were assembling from all parts; so that the British forces were in danger of being surrounded in an enemy's country. Notwithstanding these discouragements, they opened a small battery against the town, which was set on fire in several places by their bombs and red-hot bullets: they likewise repulsed part of the garrison which had made a sally to destroy their works: but their cannon producing no effect upon the fortifications, the fire from the town daily increasing, the engineers owning they could not perform their promise, and Admiral Lestock declaring, in repeated messages, that he could no longer expose the ships on an open coast at such a season of the year, General Sinclair abandoned the siege. Having caused the two iron pieces of cannon and the mortars to be spiked, he retreated in good order to the sea-side, where his troops were re-embarked, having sustained very inconsiderable damage since their first landing. He expected reinforcements from England, and was resolved to wait a little longer for their arrival, in hopes of being able to annoy the enemy more effectually. In the beginning of October the fleet sailed to Quiberon-bay, where they

destroyed the Ardent, a French ship of war of sixty-four guns; and a detachment of the forces being landed, took possession of a fort on the peninsula; while the little islands of Houat and Heydic were reduced by the sailors. In this situation the admiral and general continued till the seventeenth day of the month, when the forts being dismantled, and the troops re-embarked, the fleets sailed from the French coast: the admiral returned to England, and the transports with the soldiers proceeded to Ireland, where they arrived in safety.

NAVAL TRANSACTIONS IN THE WEST INDIES.

This expedition, weak and frivolous as it may seem, was resented by the French nation as one of the greatest insults they had ever sustained; and demonstrated the possibility of hurting France in her tenderest parts, by means of an armament of this nature, well timed, and vigorously conducted. Indeed, nothing could be more absurd or precipitate than an attempt to distress the enemy by landing a handful of troops, without draught-horses, tents, or artillery, from a fleet of ships lying on an open beach, exposed to the uncertainty of weather in the most tempestuous season of the year, so as to render the retreat and re-embarkation altogether precarious. The British squadrons in the West Indies performed no exploit of consequence in the course of this year. The commerce was but indifferently protected. Commodore Lee, stationed off Martinico, allowed a French fleet of merchant ships and their convoy to pass by his squadron unmolested; and Commodore Mitchel behaved scandalously in a rencounter with the French squadron, under the conduct of Monsieur de Confians, who in his return to Europe took the Severn, an English ship of fifty guns. The cruisers on all sides, English, French, and Spaniards, were extremely alert; and though the English lost the greater

number of ships, this difference was more than overbalanced by the superior value of the prizes taken from the enemy. In the course of this year two-and-twenty Spanish privateers, and sixty-six merchant vessels, including ten register ships, fell into the hands of the British cruisers: from the French they took seven ships of war, ninety privateers, and about three hundred ships of commerce. The new King of Spain[b] being supposed well-affected to the British nation, an effort was made to detach him from the interest of France, by means of the Marquis de Tabernega, who had formerly been his favourite, and resided many years as a refugee in England. This nobleman proceeded to Lisbon, where a negotiation was set on foot with the court of Madrid. But his efforts miscarried; and the influence of the queen-mother continued to predominate in the Spanish councils. The States-General had for some years endeavoured to promote a pacification by remonstrances, and even entreaties, at the court of Versailles: the French king at length discovered an inclination to peace, and in September a congress was opened at Breda, the capital of Dutch Brabant, where the plenipotentiaries of the emperor, Great Britain, France, and Holland, were assembled; but the French were so insolent in their demands that the conferences were soon interrupted.

The Parliament of Great Britain meeting in November, the king exhorted them to concert with all possible expedition the proper measures for pursuing the war with vigour, that the confederate army in the Netherlands might be seasonably augmented; he like-

[b] In the month of July, Philip King of Spain dying, in the sixty-third year of his age, was succeeded by his eldest son Ferdinand, born of Maria-Louisa Gabriela, sister to the late King of Sardinia. He espoused Donna Maria Magdalena, Infanta of Portugal, but had no issue. Philip was but two days survived by his daughter, the Dauphiness of France. The same month was remarkable for the death of Christiern VI. King of Denmark, succeeded by his son Frederick V. who had married the Princess Louisa, youngest daughter to the King of Great Britain.

wise gave them to understand that the funds appropriated for the support of his civil government had for some years past fallen short of the revenue intended and granted by Parliament; and said he relied on their known affection to find out some method to make good this deficiency. As all those who had conducted the opposition were now concerned in the administration, little or no objection was made to any demand or proposal of the government and its ministers. The Commons having considered the estimates, voted forty thousand seamen for the service of the ensuing year, and about sixty thousand land forces, including eleven thousand five hundred marines. They granted four hundred and thirty-three thousand pounds to the Empress Queen of Hungary; three hundred thousand pounds to the King of Sardinia; four hundred and ten thousand pounds for the maintenance of eighteen thousand Hanoverian auxiliaries; one hundred and sixty-one thousand six hundred and seven pounds for six thousand Hessians; subsidies to the Electors of Cologne, Mentz, and Bavaria; and the sum of five hundred thousand pounds to enable his majesty to prosecute the war with advantage. In a word, the supplies amounted to nine millions four hundred twenty-five thousand two hundred and fifty-four pounds; a sum almost incredible, if we consider how the kingdom had been already drained of its treasure. It was raised by the usual taxes, reinforced with new impositions on windows, carriages, and spirituous liquors, a lottery, and a loan from the sinking fund. The new taxes were mortgaged for four millions by transferable annuities, at an interest of four, and a premium of ten per centum. By reflecting on these enormous grants, one would imagine the ministry had been determined to impoverish the nation; but, from the eagerness and expedition with which the people subscribed for the money, one would conclude that the riches of the kingdom were inexhaustible.

may not be amiss to observe, that the supplies of this year exceeded, by two millions and a half, the greatest annual sum that was raised during the reign of Queen Anne, though she maintained as great a number of troops as was now in the pay of Great Britain, and her armies and fleets acquired every year fresh harvests of glory and advantage; whereas this war had proved an almost uninterrupted series of events big with disaster and dishonour. During the last two years, the naval expense of England had exceeded that of France about five millions sterling; though her fleets had not obtained one signal advantage over the enemy at sea, nor been able to protect her commerce from their depredations. She was at once a prey to her declared adversaries and professed friends. Before the end of summer, she numbered among her mercenaries two empresses, five German princes, and a powerful monarch, whom she hired to assist her in trimming the balance of Europe, in which they themselves were immediately interested, and she had no more than a secondary concern. Had these fruitless subsidies been saved; had the national revenue been applied with economy to national purposes; had it been employed in liquidating gradually the public incumbrances; in augmenting the navy, improving manufactures, encouraging and securing the colonies, and extending trade and navigation; corruption would have become altogether unnecessary, and disaffection would have vanished: the people would have been eased of their burdens, and ceased to complain: commerce would have flourished, and produced such affluence as must have raised Great Britain to the highest pinnacle of maritime power, above all rivalship or competition. She would have been dreaded by her enemies; revered by her neighbours; oppressed nations would have crept under her wings for protection; contending potentates would have appealed to her decision; and she would have shone the universal

arbitress of Europe. How different is her present situation! her debts are enormous, her taxes intolerable, her people discontented, and the sinews of her government relaxed. Without conduct, confidence, or concert, she engages in blundering negotiations; she involves herself rashly in foreign quarrels, and lavishes her substance with the most dangerous precipitation; she is even deserted by her wonted vigour, steadiness, and intrepidity; she grows vain, fantastical, and pusillanimous; her arms are despised by her enemies; and her councils ridiculed through all Christendom.

PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED.

The king, in order to exhibit a specimen of his desire to diminish the public expense, ordered the third and fourth troops of his life-guards to be disbanded, and reduced three regiments of horse to the quality of dragoons. The House of Commons presented an address of thanks for this instance of economy, by which the annual sum of seventy thousand pounds was saved to the nation. Notwithstanding this seeming harmony between the king and the great council of the nation, his majesty resolved, with the advice of his council, to dissolve the present Parliament, though the term of seven years was not yet expired since its first meeting. The ministry affected to insinuate, that the States-General were unwilling to concur with his majesty in vigorous measures against France, during the existence of a Parliament which had undergone such a vicissitude of complexion. The allies of Great Britain, far from being suspicious of this assembly, which had supplied them so liberally, saw with concern that, according to law, it would soon be dismissed; and they doubted whether another could be procured equally agreeable to their purposes. In order to remove this doubt, the ministry resolved to surprise the kingdom with a new

election, before the malcontents should be prepared to oppose the friends of the government. Accordingly, when the business of the session was despatched, the king, having given the royal assent to the several acts they had prepared, dismissed them in the month of June with an affectionate speech, that breathed nothing but tenderness and gratitude. The Parliament was immediately dissolved by proclamation, and new writs were issued for convoking another. Among the laws passed in this session, was an act abolishing the heritable jurisdictions, and taking away the tenure of wardholdings in Scotland, which were reckoned among the principal sources of those rebellions that had been excited since the Revolution. In the Highlands, they certainly kept the common people in subjection to their chiefs, whom they implicitly followed and obeyed in all their undertakings. By this act these mountaineers were legally emancipated from slavery; but as the tenants enjoyed no leases, and were at all times liable to be ejected from their farms, they still depended on the pleasure of their lords, notwithstanding this interposition of the legislature, which granted a valuable consideration in money to every nobleman and petty baron who was thus deprived of one part of his inheritance. The forfeited estates, indeed, were divided into small farms, and let by the government on leases at an under value; so that those who had the good fortune to obtain such leases tasted the sweets of independence: but the Highlanders in general were left, in their original indigence and incapacity, at the mercy of their superiors. Had manufactures and fisheries been established in different parts of their country, they would have seen and felt the happy consequences of industry, and in a little time been effectually detached from all their slavish connexions.

THE FRENCH AND ALLIES TAKE THE FIELD IN FLANDERS.

The operations of the campaign had been concerted in the winter at the Hague, between the Duke of Cumberland and the States-General of the United Provinces, who were by this time generally convinced of France's design to encroach upon their territories. They therefore determined to take effectual measures against that restless and ambitious neighbour. The allied powers agreed to assemble a vast army in the Netherlands; and it was resolved that the Austrians and Piedmontese should once more penetrate into Provence. The Dutch patriots, however, were not roused into this exertion until all their remonstrances had failed at the court of Versailles; until they had been urged by repeated memorials of the English ambassador, and stimulated by the immediate danger to which their country was exposed: for France was by this time possessed of all the Austrian Netherlands, and seemed bent upon penetrating into the territories of the United Provinces. In February, the Duke of Cumberland began to assemble the allied forces; and in the latter end of March they took the field in three separate bodies. His royal highness, with the English, Hanoverians, and Hessians, fixed his head-quarters at the village of Tilberg: the Prince of Waldeck was posted with the Dutch troops at Breda; and Mareschal Bathiani collected the Austrians and Bavarians in the neighbourhood of Venlo. The whole army amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand men, who lay inactive six weeks, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and almost destitute of forage and provision. Count Saxe, by this time created Mareschal-General of France, continued his troops within their cantonments at Bruges, Antwerp, and Brussels, declaring, that when the

allied army should be weakened by sickness and mortality, he would convince the Duke of Cumberland, that the first duty of a general is to provide for the health and preservation of his troops. In April this fortunate commander took the field, at the head of one hundred and forty thousand men; and the Count de Clermont commanded a separate body of nineteen battalions and thirty squadrons. Count Lowendahl was detached on the sixteenth day of the month, with seven-and-twenty thousand men, to invade Dutch Flanders: at the same time, the French minister at the Hague presented a memorial to the states, intimating that his master was obliged to take this step by the necessity of war; but that his troops should observe the strictest discipline, without interfering with the religion, government, or commerce of the republic: he likewise declared, that the countries and places of which he might be obliged to take possession should be detained no otherwise than as a pledge, to be restored as soon as the United Provinces should give convincing proofs that they would no longer furnish the enemies of France with succours.

PRINCE OF ORANGE ELECTED STADTHOLDER OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

While the states deliberated upon this declaration, Count Lowendahl entered Dutch Brabant, and invested the town and fortress of Sluys, the garrison of which surrendered themselves prisoners of war on the nineteenth day of April. This was likewise the fate of Sas-van-Ghent; while the Marquis de Contades, with another detachment, reduced the forts Perle and Leifkenshoek, with the town of Philippine, even within hearing of the confederate army. The fort of Sanberg was vigorously defended by two English battalions; but they were overpowered, and obliged to retire to Welsthoorden; and Count Lowendahl undertook the siege

of Hulst, which was shamefully surrendered by La Roque, the Dutch governor, though he knew that a reinforcement of nine battalions was on the march to his relief. Then the French general took possession of Axel and Terneuse, and began to prepare flat-bottomed boats for a descent on the island of Zealand. The Dutch people were now struck with consternation. They saw the enemy at their doors, and owed their immediate preservation to the British squadron stationed at the Swin, under the command of Commodore Mitchel[c], who, by means of his sloops, tenders, and small craft, took such measures as defeated the intention of Lowendahl. The common people in Zealand, being reduced to despair, began to clamour loudly against their governors, as if they had not taken the proper measures for their security. The friends of the Prince of Orange did not neglect this opportunity of promoting his interest. They encouraged their discontent, and exaggerated the danger: they reminded them of the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-two, when the French king was at the gates of Amsterdam, and the republic was saved by the choice of a stadtholder: they exhorted them to turn their eyes on the descendant of those heroes who had established the liberty and independence of the United Provinces; they extolled his virtue and ability, his generosity, his justice, his unshaken love to his country. The people in several towns, inflamed by such representations to tumult and sedition, compelled their magistrates to declare the Prince of Orange stadtholder. He himself, in a letter to the states of Zealand, offered his services for the defence of the province. On the twenty-eighth day of April he was nominated Captain-General and Admiral of Zealand. Their example was followed by Rotterdam and the whole province of Holland; and on the second

[c] Not the person who commanded in the West Indies.

day of May, the Prince of Orange was, in the assembly of the States-General, invested with the power and dignity of Stadtholder, Captain-General, and Admiral of the United Provinces. The vigorous consequences of this resolution immediately appeared. All commerce and contracts with the French were prohibited: the peasants were armed and exercised: a resolution passed for making a considerable augmentation of the army: a council of war was established for inquiring into the conduct of the governors who had given up the frontier places; and orders were issued to commence hostilities against the French both by sea and land.

Meanwhile, the Duke of Cumberland took post with his whole army between the two Nethes, to cover Bergen-op-Zoom and Maestricht; and Mareschal Saxe called in his detachments, with a view to hazard a general engagement. In the latter end of May, the French king arrived at Brussels; and his general resolved to undertake the siege of Maestricht. For this purpose he advanced towards Louvain; and the confederates, perceiving his drift, began their march to take post between the town and the enemy. On the twentieth day of June, they took possession of their ground, and were drawn up in order of battle, with their right at Bilsen, and their left extending to Wirle, within a mile of Maestricht, having in the front of their left wing the village of Laffeldt, in which they posted several battalions of British infantry. The French had taken possession of the heights of Herdeeren, immediately above the allies; and both armies cannonaded each other till the evening. In the morning, the enemy's infantry marched down the hill, in a prodigious column, and attacked the village of Laffeldt, which was well fortified, and defended with amazing obstinacy. The assailants suffered terribly in their approach from the cannon of the confederates, which was served with surprising dexterity and success; and they

met with such a warm reception from the British musketry as they could not withstand; but when they were broken and dispersed, fresh brigades succeeded with astonishing perseverance. The confederates were driven out of the village; yet, being sustained by three regiments, they measured back their ground, and repulsed the enemy with great slaughter. Nevertheless, Count Saxe continued pouring in other battalions, and the French regained and maintained their footing in the village after it had been three times lost and carried. The action was chiefly confined to this post, where the field exhibited a horrible scene of carnage. At noon the Duke of Cumberland ordered the whole left wing to advance against the enemy, whose infantry gave way: Prince Waldeck led up the centre: Mareschal Bathiani made a motion with the right wing towards Herdeeren, and victory seemed ready to declare for the confederates, when the fortune of the day took a sudden turn to their prejudice. Several squadrons of Dutch horse, posted in the centre, gave way, and flying at full gallop, overthrew five battalions of infantry that were advancing from the body of reserve. The French cavalry charged them with great impetuosity, increasing the confusion that was already produced, and penetrating through the lines of the allied army, which was thus divided about the centre. The Duke of Cumberland, who exerted himself with equal courage and activity in attempting to remedy this disorder, was in danger of being taken; and the defeat would in all probability have been total, had not Sir John Ligonier taken the resolution of sacrificing himself and a part of the troops to the safety of the army. At the head of three British regiments of dragoons, and some squadrons of imperial horse, he charged the whole line of the French cavalry with such intrepidity and success that he overthrew all that opposed him, and made such a diversion as enabled the Duke of Cumberland to effect an orderly retreat

to Maestricht. He himself was taken by a French carabineer, after his horse had been killed; but the regiments he commanded retired with deliberation. The confederates retreated to Maestricht, without having sustained much damage from the pursuit, and even brought off all their artillery, except sixteen pieces of cannon. Their loss did not exceed six thousand men killed and taken; whereas the French general purchased the victory at a much greater expense. The common cause of the confederate powers is said to have suffered from the pride and ignorance of their generals. On the eve of the battle, when the detachment of the Count de Clermont appeared on the hill of Herdeeren, Mareschal Bathiani asked permission of the commander-in-chief to attack them before they should be reinforced, declaring he would answer for the success of the enterprise. No regard was paid to this proposal; but the superior asked in his turn, where the mareschal would be in case he should be wanted? He replied, "I shall always be found at the head of my troops," and retired in disgust. The subsequent disposition has likewise been blamed, inasmuch as not above one half of the army could act, while the enemy exerted their whole force.

SIEGE OF BERGEN-OP-ZOOM.

The confederates passed the Maese, and encamped in the duchy of Limburgh, so as to cover Maestricht; while the French king remained with his army in the neighbourhood of Tongres. Mareschal Saxe, having amused the allies with marches and counter-marches, at length detached Count Lowendahl with six-and-thirty thousand men to besiege Bergen-op-Zoom, the strongest fortification of Dutch Brabant, the favourite work of the famous engineer Coehorn, never conquered, and generally esteemed invincible. It was secured

with a garrison of three thousand men, and well provided with artillery, ammunition, and magazines. The enemy appeared before it on the twelfth day of July, and summoned the governor to surrender. The Prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen was sent to its relief, with twenty battalions and fourteen squadrons of the troops that could be most conveniently assembled: he entered the lines of Bergen-op-Zoom, where he remained in expectation of a strong reinforcement from the confederate army; and the old Baron Cronstrom, whom the stadtholder had appointed Governor of Brabant, assumed the command of the garrison. The besiegers carried on their operations with great vivacity; and the troops in the town defended it with equal vigour. The eyes of all Europe were turned upon this important siege: Count Lowendahl received divers reinforcements; and a considerable body of troops was detached from the allied army, under the command of Baron Schwartzemberg, to co-operate with the Prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen. The French general lost a great number of men by the close and continual fire of the besieged; while he, in his turn, opened such a number of batteries, and plied them so warmly, that the defences began to give way. From the sixteenth day of July to the fifteenth of September, the siege produced an unintermitting scene of horror and destruction: desperate sallies were made, and mines sprung with the most dreadful effects: the works began to be shattered; the town was laid in ashes; the trenches were filled with carnage: nothing was seen but fire and smoke; nothing heard but one continued roar of bombs and cannon. But still the damage fell chiefly on the besiegers, who were slain in heaps; while the garrison suffered very little, and could be occasionally relieved or reinforced from the lines. In a word, it was generally believed that Count Lowendahl would be baffled in his endeavours; and by this belief the governor of Bergen-op-

Zoom seems to have been lulled into a blind security. At length, some inconsiderable breaches were made in one ravelin and two bastions, and these the French general resolved to storm, though Cronstrom believed they were impracticable; and on that supposition presumed that the enemy would not attempt an assault. For this very reason Count Lowendahl resolved to hazard the attack before the preparations should be made for his reception. He accordingly regulated his dispositions, and at four o'clock in the morning, on the sixteenth day of September, the signal was made for the assault. A prodigious quantity of bombs being thrown into the ravelin, his troops threw themselves into the fossé, mounted the breaches, forced open a sally-port, and entered the place almost without resistance. In a word, they had time to extend themselves along the curtains, and form in order of battle, before the garrison could be assembled. Cronstrom was asleep, and the soldiers upon duty had been surprised by the suddenness and impetuosity of the attack. Though the French had taken possession of the ramparts, they did not gain the town without opposition. Two battalions of the Scottish troops, in the pay of the States-General, were assembled in the market-place, and attacked them with such fury, that they were driven from street to street, until fresh reinforcements arriving, compelled the Scots to retreat in their turn; yet they disputed every inch of ground, and fought until two-thirds of them were killed on the spot. Then they brought off the old governor, abandoning the town to the enemy: the troops that were encamped in the lines retreating with great precipitation, all the forts in the neighbourhood immediately surrendered to the victors, who now became masters of the whole navigation of the Schelde. The French king was no sooner informed of Lowendahl's success, than he promoted him to the rank of Mareschal of France, appointed Count Saxe governor of the conquered Ne-

therlands, and returned in triumph to Versailles. In a little time after this transaction, both armies were distributed into winter-quarters, and the Duke of Cumberland embarked for England.

In Italy, the French arms did not triumph with equal success, though the Mareschal de Belleisle saw himself at the head of a powerful army in Provence. In April he passed the Var without opposition, and took possession of Nice. He met with little or no resistance in reducing Montalban, Villafranca, and Ventimiglia; while General Brown, with eight-and-twenty thousand Austrians, retired towards Final and Savona. In the mean time, another large body, under Count Schuylemberg, who had succeeded the Marquis de Botta, co-operated with fifteen thousand Piedmontese in an attempt to recover the city of Genoa. The French king had sent them supplies, succours, and engineers, with the Duke de Boufflers, as ambassador to the republic, who likewise acted as commander-in-chief of the forces employed for its defence. The Austrian general assembled his troops in the Milanese: having forced the passage of the Bochetta on the thirteenth of January, he advanced into the territories of Genoa, and the Riviera was ravaged without mercy. On the last day of March he appeared before the city, at the head of forty thousand men, and summoned the revolters to lay down their arms. The answer he received was, that the republic had fifty-four thousand men in arms, two hundred and sixty cannon, thirty-four mortars, with abundance of ammunition and provision; that they would defend their liberty with their last blood, and be buried in the ruins of their capital, rather than submit to the clemency of the court of Vienna, except by an honourable capitulation, guaranteed by the Kings of Great Britain and Sardinia, the republic of Venice, and the United Provinces. In the beginning of May, Genoa was invested on all sides; a furious sally was made by

the Duke de Boufflers, who drove the besiegers from their posts; but the Austrians rallying, he was repulsed in his turn with the loss of seven hundred men. General Schuylemberg carried on his operations with such skill, vigour, and intrepidity, that he made himself master of the suburbs of Bisagno; and in all probability would have reduced the city, had he not been obliged to desist, in consequence of the repeated remonstrances made by the King of Sardinia and Count Brown, who represented the necessity of his abandoning his enterprise, and drawing off his army, to cover Piedmont and Lombardy from the efforts of Mareschal de Belleisle. Accordingly, he raised the siege on the tenth day of June, and returned into the Milanese, in order to join his Sardinian majesty; while the Genoese made an irruption into the Parmesan and Placentin, where they committed terrible outrages, in revenge for the mischiefs they had undergone.

THE CHEVALIER DE BELLEISLE SLAIN IN THE ATTACK OF EXILES.

While the Mareschal de Belleisle remained at Ventimiglia, his brother, at the head of four-and-thirty thousand French and Spaniards, attempted to penetrate into Piedmont: on the sixth day of July he arrived at the pass of Exiles, a strong fortress on the frontiers of Dauphiné, situated on the north side of the river Doria. The defence of this important post the King of Sardinia had committed to the care of the Count de Brigueras, who formed an encampment behind the lines, with fourteen battalions of Piedmontese and Austrians, while divers detachments were posted along the passes of the Alps. On the eighth day of the month the Piedmontese intrenchments were attacked by the Chevalier de Belleisle with incredible intrepidity; but the columns were repulsed with great loss in three succes-

sive attacks. Impatient of this obstinate opposition, and determined not to survive a miscarriage, this impetuous general seized a pair of colours, and advancing at the head of his troops, through a prodigious fire, pitched them with his own hand on the enemy's intrenchments. At that instant he fell dead, having received two musket balls and the thrust of a bayonet in his body. The assailants were so much dispirited by the death of their commander, that they forthwith gave way, and retreated with precipitation towards Sesteries, having lost near five thousand men in the attack. The mareschal was no sooner informed of his brother's misfortune, than he retreated towards the Var, to join the troops from Exiles, while the King of Sardinia, having assembled an army of seventy thousand men, threatened Dauphiné with an invasion; but the excessive rains prevented the execution of his design. General Leutrum was detached with twenty battalions, to drive the French from Ventimiglia; but Belleisle marching back, that scheme was likewise frustrated; and thus ended the campaign.

A FRENCH SQUADRON TAKEN BY ADMIRALS ANSON AND WARREN.

In this manner was the French king baffled in his projects upon Italy; nor was he more fortunate in his naval operations. He had, in the preceding year, equipped an expensive armament, under the command of the Duke d'Anville, for the recovery of Cape Breton; but it was rendered ineffectual by storms, distempers, and the death of the commander. Not yet discouraged by these disasters, he resolved to renew his efforts against the British colonies in North America, and their settlements in the East Indies. For these purposes, two squadrons were prepared at Brest, one to be commanded by the Commodore de la Jonquiere; and

the other, destined for India, by Monsieur de St. George. The ministry of Great Britain, being apprised of these measures, resolved to intercept both squadrons, which were to set sail together. For this purpose Vice-Admiral Anson and Rear-Admiral Warren took their departure from Plymouth with a formidable fleet, and steered their course to Cape Finisterre on the coast of Gallicia. On the third day of May they fell in with the French squadrons, commanded by La Jonquiere and St. George, consisting of six large ships of war, as many frigates, and four armed vessels equipped by their East India company, having under their convoy about thirty ships laden with merchandise. Those prepared for war immediately shortened sail, and formed a line of battle; while the rest, under the protection of the six frigates, proceeded on their voyage with all the sail they could carry. The British squadron was likewise drawn up in line of battle; but Mr. Warren, perceiving that the enemy began to sheer off, now their convoy was at a considerable distance, advised Admiral Anson to haul in the signal for the line, and hoist another for giving chase and engaging, otherwise the French would, in all probability, escape by favour of the night. The proposal was embraced; and in a little time the engagement began with great fury about four o'clock in the afternoon. The enemy sustained the battle with equal conduct and valour, until they were overpowered by numbers, and then they struck their colours. The admiral detached three ships in pursuit of the convoy, nine sail of which were taken; but the rest were saved by the intervening darkness. About seven hundred of the French were killed and wounded in this action. The English lost about five hundred; and among these Captain Granville, commander of the ship Defiance. He was nephew to the Lord Viscount Cobham, a youth of the most amiable character and promising genius, animated with the noblest sentiments of honour and pa-

triotism. Eager in the pursuit of glory, he rushed into the midst of the battle, where both his legs were cut off by a cannon ball. He submitted to his fate with the most heroic resignation, and died universally lamented and beloved. The success of the British arms in this engagement was chiefly owing to the conduct, activity, and courage of the rear-admiral. A considerable quantity of bullion was found in the prizes, which was brought to Spithead in triumph; and, the treasure being landed, was conveyed in twenty waggons to the bank of London. Admiral Anson was ennobled, and Mr. Warren honoured with the Order of the Bath.

ADMIRAL HAWKE OBTAINS ANOTHER VICTORY OVER THE FRENCH.

About the middle of June, Commodore Fox, with six ships of war, cruising in the latitude of Cape Ortegal in Gallicia, took above forty French ships, richly laden from St. Domingo, after they had been abandoned by their convoy. But the French king sustained another more important loss at sea in the month of October. Rear-Admiral Hawke sailed from Plymouth in the beginning of August, with fourteen ships of the line, to intercept a fleet of French merchantships bound for the West Indies. He cruised for some time on the coast of Bretagne; and at length the French fleet sailed from the isle of Aix, under convoy of nine ships of the line, besides frigates, commanded by Monsieur de Letendeur. On the fourteenth day of October the two squadrons were in sight of each other, in the latitude of Belleisle. The French commodore immediately ordered one of his great ships, and the frigates, to proceed with the trading ships, while he formed the line of battle, and waited the attack. At eleven in the forenoon Admiral Hawke displayed the signal to chase,

and in half an hour both fleets were engaged. The battle lasted till night, when all the French squadron, except the Intrepide and Tonant, had struck to the English flag. These two capital ships escaped in the dark, and returned to Brest in a shattered condition. The French captains sustained the unequal fight with uncommon bravery and resolution; and did not yield until their ships were disabled. Their loss in men amounted to eight hundred: the number of English killed in this engagement did not exceed two hundred, including Captain Saumarez, a gallant officer, who had served under Lord Anson in his expedition to the Pacific Ocean. Indeed it must be owned, for the honour of that nobleman, that all the officers formed under his example, and raised by his influence, approved themselves in all respects worthy of the commands to which they were preferred. Immediately after the action, Admiral Hawke despatched a sloop to Commodore Legge, whose squadron was stationed at the Leeward Islands, with intelligence of the French fleet of merchant-ships, outward-bound, that he might take the proper measures for intercepting them in their passage to Martinique, and the other French islands. In consequence of this advice, he redoubled his vigilance, and a good number of them fell into his hands. Admiral Hawke conducted his prizes to Spithead; and in his letter to the board of Admiralty declared, that all his captains behaved like men of honour during the engagement, except Mr. Fox, whose conduct he desired might be subjected to an inquiry. That gentleman was accordingly tried by a court-martial, and suspended from his command, for having followed the advice of his officers, contrary to his own better judgment; but he was soon restored, and afterwards promoted to the rank of admiral; while Mr. Matthews, whose courage never incurred suspicion, still laboured under a suspen-

sion for that which had been successfully practised in both these late actions, namely, engaging the enemy without any regard to the line of battle.

In the Mediterranean, Vice-Admiral Medley blocked up the Spanish squadron in Carthagena; assisted the Austrian general on the coast of Villafranca; and intercepted some of the succours sent from France to the assistance of the Genoese. At his death, which happened in the beginning of August, the command of that squadron devolved upon Rear-Admiral Byng, who proceeded on the same plan of operation. In the summer, two British ships of war, having under their convoy a fleet of merchant-ships bound to North America, fell in with the Glorioso, a Spanish ship of eighty guns, in the latitude of the Western Isles. She had sailed from the Havannah, with an immense treasure on board, and must have fallen a prize to the English ships, had each captain done his duty. Captain Erskine, in the Warwick of sixty guns, attacked her with great intrepidity, and fought until his ship was entirely disabled; but being unsustained by his consort, he was obliged to haul off, and the Glorioso arrived in safety at Ferrol: there the silver was landed, and she proceeded on her voyage to Cadiz, which, however, she did not reach. She was encountered by the Dartmouth, a British frigate of forty guns, commanded by Captain Hamilton, a gallant youth, who, notwithstanding the inequality of force, engaged her without hesitation: but in the heat of the action, his ship, being set on fire by accident, was blown up, and he perished with all his crew, except a midshipman, and ten or eleven sailors, who were taken up alive by a privateer that happened to be in sight. Favourable as this accident may seem to the Glorioso, she did not escape. An English ship of eighty guns, under the command of Captain Buckle, came up, and obliged the Spaniards to surrender, after a short but vigorous engagement. Commodore Griffin

had been sent, with a reinforcement of ships, to assume the command of the squadron in the East Indies; and although his arrival secured Fort St. David's, and the other British settlements in that country, from the insults of Monsieur de la Bourdonnais, his strength was not sufficient to enable him to undertake any enterprise of importance against the enemy: the ministry of England, therefore, resolved to equip a fresh armament, that, when joined by the ships in India, should be in a condition to besiege Pondicherry, the principal settlement belonging to the French on the coast of Coromandel. For this service a good number of independent companies was raised, and set sail, in the sequel, with a strong squadron under the conduct of Rear-Admiral Boscawen, an officer of unquestioned valour and capacity. In the course of this year the British cruisers were so alert and successful, that they took six hundred and forty-four prizes from the French and Spaniards; whereas the loss of Great Britain in the same time did not exceed five hundred and fifty.

CONGRESS AT AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

All the belligerent powers were by this time heartily tired of a war which had consumed an immensity of treasure, had been productive of so much mischief, and in the events of which all, in their turns, had found themselves disappointed. Immediately after the battle of Laffeldt, the King of France had, in a personal conversation with Sir John Ligonier, expressed his desire of a pacification; and afterwards his minister at the Hague presented a declaration on the same subject to the deputies of the States-General. The signal success of the British arms at sea confirmed him in these sentiments, which were likewise reinforced by a variety of other considerations. His finances were almost exhausted, and his supplies from the Spanish West

Indies rendered so precarious by the vigilance of the British cruisers, that he could no longer depend upon their arrival. The trading part of his subjects had sustained such losses, that his kingdom was filled with bankruptcies; and the best part of his navy now contributed to strengthen the fleets of his enemies. The election of a stadtholder had united the whole power of the States-General against him, in taking the most resolute measures for their own safety: his views in Germany were entirely frustrated by the elevation of the grand duke to the imperial throne, and the re-establishment of peace between the houses of Austria and Brandenburgh: the success of his arms in Italy had not at all answered his expectation; and Genoa was become an expensive ally. He had the mortification to see the commerce of Britain flourish in the midst of war, while his own people were utterly impoverished. The Parliament of England granted, and the nation paid, such incredible sums as enabled their sovereign not only to maintain invincible navies and formidable armies, but likewise to give subsidies to all the powers of Europe. He knew that a treaty of this kind was actually upon the anvil between his Britannic majesty and the czarina, and he began to be apprehensive of seeing an army of Russians in the Netherlands. His fears from this quarter were not without foundation. In the month of November the Earl of Hyndford, ambassador from the King of Great Britain at the court of Russia, concluded a treaty of subsidy, by which the czarina engaged to hold in readiness thirty thousand men, and forty galleys, to be employed in the service of the confederates, on the first requisition. The States-General acceded to this agreement, and even consented to pay one-fourth of the subsidy. His most christian majesty, moved by these considerations, made further advances towards an accommodation both at the Hague and in London;

and the contending powers agreed to another congress, which was actually opened in March at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the Earl of Sandwich and Sir Thomas Robinson assisted as plenipotentiaries from the King of Great Britain.

COMPLIANT TEMPER OF THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

The elections for the new Parliament in England had been conducted so as fully to answer the purposes of the Duke of Newcastle, and his brother Mr. Pelham, who had for some time wholly engrossed the administration. Both Houses were assembled on the tenth day of November, when Mr. Onslow was unanimously re-elected Speaker of the Commons. The session was opened, as usual, by a speech from the throne, congratulating them on the signal successes of the British navy, and the happy alteration in the government of the United Provinces. His majesty gave them to understand that a congress would be speedily opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, to concert the means for effecting a general pacification; and reminded them that nothing would more conduce to the success of this negotiation than the vigour and unanimity of their proceedings. He received such addresses as the ministers were pleased to dictate. Opposition now languished at their feet. The Duke of Bedford was become a courtier, and in a little time appointed secretary of state, in the room of the Earl of Chesterfield, who had lately executed that office, which he now resigned; and the Earl of Sandwich no longer harangued against the administration. This new House of Commons, in imitation of the liberality of their predecessors, readily gratified all the requests of the government. They voted forty thousand seamen, forty-nine thousand land-forces, besides eleven thousand five hundred marines; the subsidies

for the Queen of Hungary, the czarina, the King of Sardinia, the Electors of Mentz and Bavaria, the Hessians, and the Duke of Wolfenbuttel: the sum of two hundred thirty-five thousand seven hundred and forty-nine pounds was granted to the provinces of New England, to reimburse them for the expense of reducing Cape Breton: five hundred thousand pounds were given to his majesty for the vigorous prosecution of the war; and about one hundred and fifty-two thousand pounds to the Scottish claimants in lieu of their jurisdiction. The supplies for the ensuing year fell very little short of nine millions, of which the greater part was raised on a loan by subscription, chargeable on a new subsidy of poundage exacted from all merchandise imported into Great Britain. Immediately after the rebellion was suppressed, the legislature had established some regulations in Scotland, which were thought necessary to prevent such commotions for the future. The highlanders were disarmed, and an act passed for abolishing their peculiarity of garb, which was supposed to keep up party distinctions, to encourage their martial disposition, and to preserve the memory of the exploits achieved by their ancestors. In this session a bill was brought in to enforce the execution of that law, and passed with another act for the more effectual punishment of high-treason in the highlands of Scotland. The practice of insuring French and Spanish ships at London being deemed the sole circumstance that prevented a total stagnation of commerce in those countries, it was prohibited by law under severe penalties; and this step of the British Parliament accelerated the conclusion of the treaty. Several other prudent measures were taken in the course of this session for the benefit of the public; and among these we may reckon an act for encouraging the manufacture of indigo in the British plantations of North America; an article for which Great Britain used to pay two hundred

thousand pounds yearly to the subjects of France. The session was closed on the thirteenth day of May, when the king declared to both Houses, that the preliminaries of a general peace were actually signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, by the ministers of Great Britain, France, and the United Provinces; and that the basis of this accommodation was a general restitution of the conquests which had been made during the war. Immediately after the prorogation of Parliament, his majesty set out for his German dominions, after having appointed a regency to rule the realm in his absence.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE CAMPAIGN IN THE NETHERLANDS.

The articles might have been made much less unfavourable to Great Britain and her allies, had the ministry made a proper use of the treaty with the czarina; and if the confederates had acted with more vigour and expedition in the beginning of the campaign. The Russian auxiliaries might have been transported by sea to Lubeck before the end of the preceding summer, in their own galleys, which had been lying ready for use since the month of July. Had this expedient been used, the Russian troops would have joined the confederate army before the conclusion of the last campaign. But this easy and expeditious method of conveyance was rejected for a march by land, of incredible length and difficulty, which could not be begun before the month of January, nor accomplished till midsummer. The operations of the campaign had been concerted at the Hague, in January, by the respective ministers of the allies, who resolved to bring an army of one hundred and ninety thousand men into the Netherlands, in order to compel the French to abandon the barrier which they had conquered. The towns of Holland became the scenes of tumult and insurrection.

The populace plundered the farmers of the revenue, abolished the taxes, and insulted the magistrates; so that the States-General, seeing their country on the brink of anarchy and confusion, authorized the Prince of Orange to make such alterations as he should see convenient. They presented him with a diploma, by which he was constituted hereditary stadtholder and captain-general of Dutch Brabant, Flanders, and the upper quarter of Guelderland; and the East India company appointed him director and governor-general of their commerce and settlements in the Indies. Thus invested with authority unknown to his ancestors, he exerted himself with equal industry and discretion in new modelling, augmenting, and assembling the troops of the republic. The confederates knew that the Count de Saxe had a design upon Maestricht: the Austrian general Bathiani made repeated remonstrances to the British ministry, entreating them to take speedy measures for the preservation of that fortress. He in the month of January proposed that the Duke of Cumberland should cross the sea, and confer with the Prince of Orange on this subject: he undertook, at the peril of his head, to cover Maestricht with seventy thousand men, from all attacks of the enemy; but his representations seemed to have made very little impression on those to whom they were addressed. The Duke of Cumberland did not depart from England till towards the latter end of February; part of March was elapsed before the transports sailed from the Nore with the additional troops and artillery; and the last draughts from the foot-guards were not embarked till the middle of August.

SIEGE OF MAESTRICHT. CESSATION OF ARMS.

The different bodies of the confederate forces joined each other, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Ruremond, to the number of one hundred and ten thousand men; and the French army invested Maestricht, without opposition, on the third of April. The garrison consisted of imperial and Dutch troops, under the conduct of the governor, Baron d'Aylva, who defended the place with extraordinary skill and resolution. He annoyed the besiegers in repeated sallies; but they were determined to surmount all opposition, and prosecuted their approaches with incredible ardour. They assaulted the covered way, and there effected a lodgment, after an obstinate dispute, in which they lost two thousand of their best troops; but next day they were entirely dislodged by the gallantry of the garrison. These hostilities were suddenly suspended, in consequence of the preliminaries signed at Aix-la-Chapelle. The plenipotentiaries agreed, that, for the glory of his christian majesty's arms, the town of Maestricht should be surrendered to his general, on condition that it should be restored with all the magazines and artillery. He accordingly took possession of it on the third day of May, when the garrison marched out with all the honours of war; and a cessation of arms immediately ensued. By this time the Russian auxiliaries, to the number of thirty-seven thousand, commanded by Prince Repnin, had arrived in Moravia, where they were reviewed by their imperial majesties; then they proceeded to the confines of Franconia, where they were ordered to halt, after they had marched seven hundred miles since the beginning of the year. The French king declared, that should they advance farther, he would demolish the fortifications of Maestricht and

Bergen-op-Zoom. This dispute was referred to the plenipotentiaries, who, in the beginning of August, concluded a convention, importing, that the Russian troops should return to their own country; and that the French king should disband an equal number of his forces. The season being far advanced, the Russians were provided with winter-quarters in Bohemia and Moravia, where they continued till the spring, when they marched back to Livonia. In the mean time seven-and-thirty thousand French troops were withdrawn from Flanders into Picardy, and the two armies remained quiet till the conclusion of the definitive treaty. The suspension of arms was proclaimed at London, and in all the capitals of the contracting powers: orders were sent to the respective admirals in different parts of the world to refrain from hostilities; and a communication of trade and intelligence was again opened between the nations which had been at variance. No material transaction distinguished the campaign in Italy. The French and Spanish troops who had joined the Genoese in the territories of the republic amounted to thirty thousand men, under the direction of the Duke de Richelieu, who was sent from France to assume that command on the death of the Duke de Boufflers; while Mareschal de Belleisle, at the head of fifty thousand men, covered the western Riviera, which was threatened with an invasion by forty thousand Austrians and Piedmontese, under General Leutrum. At the same time General Brown, with a more numerous army, prepared to re-enter the eastern Riviera, and recommence the siege of Genoa. But these intended operations were prevented by an armistice, which took place as soon as the belligerent powers had acceded to the preliminaries.

TRANSACTIONS IN THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.

In the East Indies, Rear-Admiral Boscawen undertook the siege of Pondicherry, which, in the month of August, he blocked up by sea with his squadron, and invested by land with a small army of four thousand Europeans, and about two thousand natives of that country. He prosecuted the enterprise with great spirit, and took the fort of Area Coupan, at the distance of three miles from the town: then he made his approaches to the place, against which he opened batteries, while it was bombarded and cannonaded by the shipping. But the fortifications were so strong, the garrison so numerous, and the engineers of the enemy so expert in their profession, that he made very little progress, and sustained considerable damage. At length, his army being diminished by sickness, and the rainy season approaching, he ordered the artillery and stores to be re-embarked; and raising the siege on the sixth day of October, returned to Fort St. David, after having lost about a thousand men in this expedition. In the sequel, several ships of his squadron, and above twelve hundred sailors, perished in a hurricane. The naval force of Great Britain was more successful in the West Indies. Rear-Admiral Knowles, with a squadron of eight ships, attacked Fort Louis, on the south side of Hispaniola, which, after a warm action of three hours, was surrendered on capitulation, and dismantled. Then he made an abortive attempt upon St. Jago de Cuba, and returned to Jamaica, extremely chagrined at his disappointment, which he imputed to the misconduct of Captain Dent, who was tried in England by a court-martial, and honourably acquitted. On the first day of October, the same admiral cruising in the neighbourhood of the Havannah, with eight ships of the

line, encountered a Spanish squadron of nearly the same strength, under the command of the Admirals Reggio and Spinola. The engagement began between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, and continued with intervals till eight in the evening, when the enemy retired to the Havannah, with the loss of two ships; one of which struck to the British admiral, and the other was, two days after, set on fire by her own commander, that she might not fall into the hands of the English. Mr. Knowles taxed some of his captains with misbehaviour, and they recriminated on his conduct. On their return to England, a court-martial was the consequence of the mutual accusations. Those who adhered to the commander, and the others whom he impeached, were inflamed against each other with the most rancorous resentment. The admiral himself did not escape uncensured: two of his captains were reprimanded; but Captain Holmes, who had displayed uncommon courage, was honourably acquitted. Their animosities did not end with the court-martial. A bloodless encounter happened between the admiral and Captain Powlett; but Captain Innes and Captain Clarke, meeting by appointment in Hyde-park with pistols, the former was mortally wounded, and died next morning: the latter was tried, and condemned for murder, but indulged with his majesty's pardon. No naval transaction of any consequence happened in the European seas during the course of this summer. In January, indeed, the Magnanime, a French ship of the line, was taken in the channel by two English cruisers, after an obstinate engagement; and the privateers took a considerable number of merchant ships from the enemy.

CONCLUSION OF THE DEFINITIVE TREATY AT AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

The plenipotentiaries still continued at Aix-la-Chapelle, discussing all the articles of the definitive treaty, which was at length concluded and signed on the seventh day of October. It was founded on former treaties, which were now expressly confirmed, from that of Westphalia to the last concluded at London and Vienna. The contracting parties agreed, that all prisoners on each side should be mutually released without ransom, and all conquests restored: that the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, should be ceded as a settlement to the infant Don Philip, and the heirs male of his body; but in case of his ascending the throne of Spain, or of the Two Sicilies, or his dying without male issue, that they should revert to the house of Austria: that the King of Great Britain should, immediately after the ratification of this treaty, send two persons of rank and distinction, to reside in France, as hostages, until restitution should be made of Cape Breton, and all the other conquests which his Britannic majesty should have achieved in the East or West Indies, before or after the preliminaries were signed: that the assiento contract, with the article of the annual ship, should be confirmed for four years, during which the enjoyment of that privilege was suspended since the commencement of the present war: that Dunkirk should remain fortified on the land side, and towards the sea continuing on the footing of former treaties. All the contracting powers became guarantees to the King of Prussia for the duchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz, as he at present possessed them; and they likewise engaged to secure the Empress-Queen of Hungary and Bohemia in possession of her hereditary dominions, according to the pragmatic sanction. The

other articles regulated the forms and times fixed for this mutual restitution, as well as for the termination of hostilities in different parts of the world. But the right of English subjects to navigate in the American seas, without being subject to search, was not once mentioned, though this claim was the original source of the differences between Great Britain and Spain: nor were the limits of Acadia ascertained. This and all other disputes were left to the discussion of commissaries. We have already observed, that after the troubles of the empire began, the war was no longer maintained on British principles. It became a continental contest, and was prosecuted on the side of the allies without conduct, spirit, or unanimity. In the Netherlands they were outnumbered and outwitted hy the enemy. They never hazarded a battle without sustaining a defeat. Their vast armies, paid by Great Britain, lay inactive, and beheld one fortress reduced after another, until the whole country was subdued; and as their generals fought, their plenipotentiaries negotiated. At a time when their affairs began to wear the most promising aspect, when the arrival of the Russian auxiliaries would have secured an undoubted superiority in the field; when the British fleets had trampled on the naval power of France and Spain, intercepted their supplies of treasure, and cut off all their resources of commerce; the British ministers seemed to treat, without the least regard to the honour and advantage of their country. They left her most valuable and necessary rights of trade unowned and undecided: they subscribed to the insolent demand of sending the nobles of the realm to grace the court and adorn the triumphs of her enemy; and they tamely gave up her conquests in North America, of more consequence to her traffic than all the other dominions for which the powers at war contended: they gave up the important isle of Cape Breton, in ex-

change for a petty factory in the East Indies, belonging to a private company, whose existence had been deemed prejudicial to the commonwealth. What then were the fruits which Britain reaped from this long and desperate war? A dreadful expense of blood and treasure[d], disgrace upon disgrace, an additional load of grievous impositions, and the national debt accumulated to the enormous sum of eighty millions sterling.

[d] See Note [H], vol. vi.

END OF VOL. III.

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